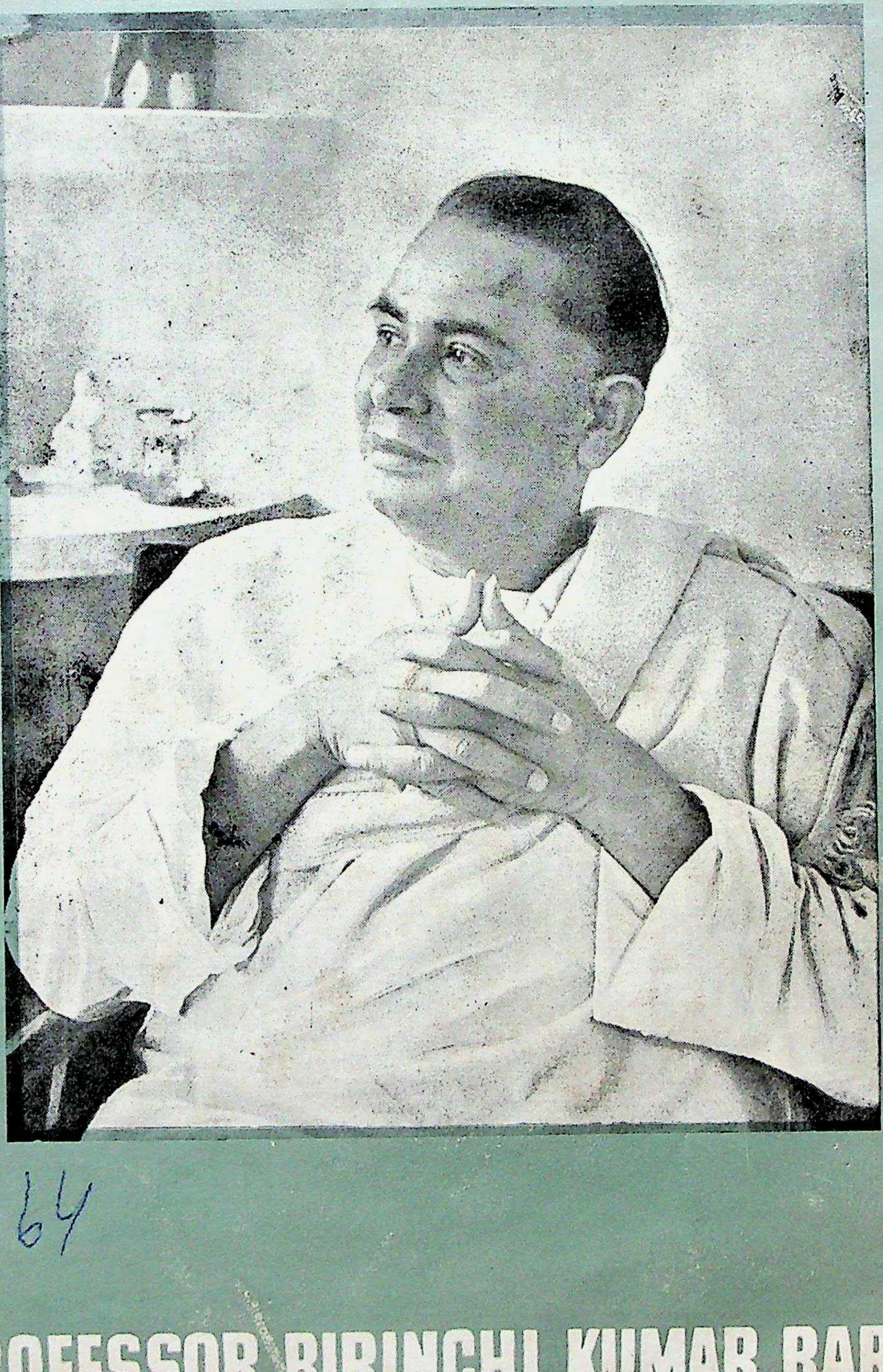

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PROFESSOR BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA
COMMEMORATION VOLUME

PROFESSOR BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Editeb by

PROFESSOR DR MAHESWAR NEOG

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU PROFESSOR, GAUHATI UNIVERSITY

&

DR MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA

READER AND HEAD OF SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT, GAUHATI UNIVERSITY

1966

LOCAL COMMITTEE, XXII SESSION
ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
GAUHATI : ASSAM

Professor Birinchi Kumar Barua Commemoration Volume, edited by Prof. Dr Maheswar Neog, Jawaharlal Nehru Professor, Gauhati University, and Dr Mukunda Madhava Sharma, Reader and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Gauhati University, and published by Dr A. K. Borkakoty, Local Secretary, XXII Session, All India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, Assam; Gauhati, March 1966

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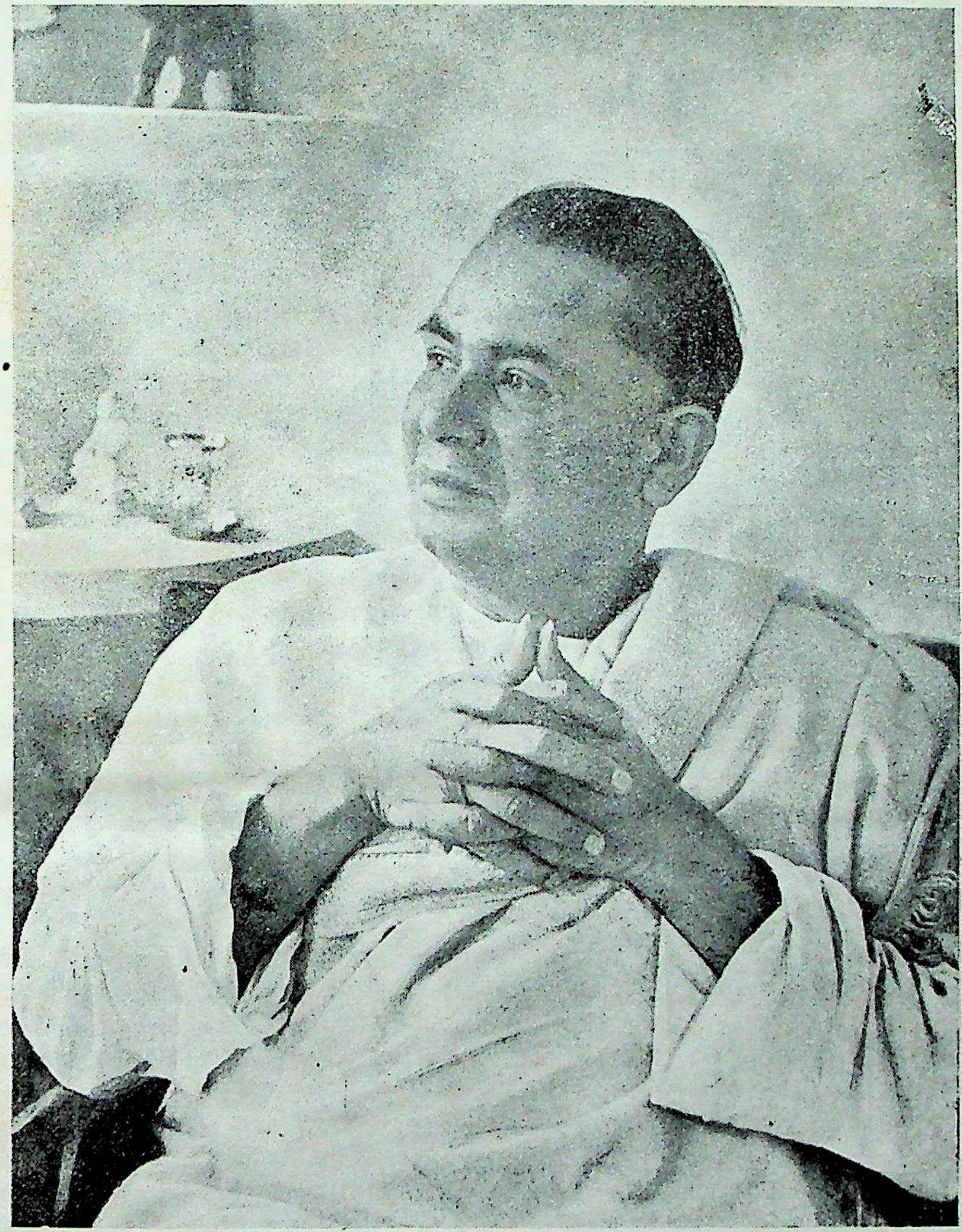

PROFESSOR BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA

EDITORS' FOREWORD

The learned world could not be slow in offering its heartfelt gratitude and homage to the sacred memory of Professor Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua when he passed away in March 1964. In America the 1964 issue of the *Journal of Asian Folklore* was immediately proposed to be dedicated to his memory; in India, the XXII, All India Oriental Conference dedicated its *souvenir, Prāgjyotiṣa* and the *Summaries of Papers* to the memory of Dr Barua and Professor Dr Surya Kumar Bhuyan, two great orientalists hailing from Prāgjyotiṣa. The Assam Research Society also published the 1964 volume of its Journal in the memory of Professor Barua. The present Volume is designed to be yet another boquet of honour prepared for the first time with the specific purpose of raising a memorial of the late-lamented Dr Barua. It is hoped that this Volume will roam over the wider world bearing the memory of this great devotee of learning for all the time to come : *kālohyayaṁ niravadhiḥ vipulā ca pṛthvī.*

The idea of bringing out this commemoration volume was first mooted by the Surabhāratī Saṁsad (Gauhati University Sanskrit Association). Subsequently, in a meeting of some of the local admirers of Professor Barua, organised by the said Saṁsad, a Professor Birinchi Kumar Barua Commemoration Volume Committee was formed with Professor Dr Maheswar Neog as its Chairman and Dr Mukunda Madhava Sharma as Secretary.

In response to an appeal made by the said Committee contributions to the Volume fund began to come from different quarters of Assam. In October 1964 the Committee approached Shri Devkanta Borooah, the learned Education Minister of Assam, for the kind grant of a sum of Rs. 5,000, and the Minister, we are happy to say, was found all inclination to encourage us in the project. But the preparation for the Volume had to be slackened for the following months as in the absence of such stalwarts as Professor Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua and Dr Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, Dr Neog, the Chairman of the Volume Committee, had to work with the fullest exertion as the Local Secretary of the XXIInd Session of All India Oriental Conference, and Dr Sharma, the Secretary of the Volume Committee, also had to work as the Sectional Secretary of the Paṇḍita Pariṣad section of the AIOC. This delay and distraction became a boon in disguise for the Volume Committee. For after the AIOC session was over, the learned Education Minister, who was also Working Chairman, Local Committee, XXII, AIOC, came forward and instructed the Local Committee to print and publish the Professor Barua Volume and to take up the work of yet another Volume in memory of Dr Suryya Kumar Bhuyan. For this kind gesture we must ever say Thanks to Shri Borooah.

Along with this and sundry financial assistance we had very highly encouraging response from the scholars and admirers of Professor Barua from all over the world, who have sent either a personal note on Professor Barua or a learned paper. We express our heartfelt gratitude to all the learned contributors and generous donors.

Our sincerest thanks are due also to Shri Ashok Goswami, Dr Dimbeswar Sarma, Shri Keshav Mahanta, Shri Bhavaprasad Chaliha, Shri Aswini Kumar Barua and Shri Narendranath Sarma for helping us ungrudgingly in various ways. We offer our thanks to Shri Kalicharan Pal of Nabajiban Press, who has borne much worry along with us in getting this work through the printing machines.

We are also thankful to Shri Sushil Kumar Barua, Srimati Shantichhaya Barua and Dr Chaitanyanath Hazarika for the supply of some useful materials for Professor Barua's life-sketch.

GAUHATI UNIVERSITY
MARCH 30, 1966

MAHESWAR NEOG
MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA

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* These papers were presented or submitted for presentation at the XXII Session, AIOC.

PART I

Professor Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua : A Life-Sketch

By

MAHESWAR NEOG

Birichi Kumar Barua was born in the famous Kharaṅgi Baruwā family of Nowgong on the 16th October 1908 (Tuesday, the 25th Kārtika 1830 Śaka). The Kharaṅgi Baruwās, who exercised some civil and military authority in their locality during the Āhom régime, had their original home at Kharaṅgi-chuk in Puraṇigudām. Birinchi Kumar's grandfather, Tulārām Baruwā, lived there together with his two brothers. Tulārām had two sons; the elder of them secured an employment in a tea estate and gave all encouragement to the younger Bijayrām's love for education. Bijayrām passed the Entrance Examination of Calcutta University from Nowgong High School, and proceeded to Calcutta, where he studied for the First Arts Examination in the General Institution. But failing to pass that Examination he procured a job at the Shillong Secretariat and then got appointed Inspector of Post Offices and later Postmaster. Bijayrām married Līlāwatī of the other famous Baruwā family of Puraṇigudām, known as Karhāl Baruwās. It was about the year 1904 that Bijayrām built his permanent residence in the modern town of Nowgong. He had five sons and two daughters: Lalit Kumar Barua (a very popular physician, a pioneer writer on medical subjects for the layman, and a social worker of infinite zeal, who will be remembered for his great services in building up the Śrīmanta Śaṅkara Mission), Smt Priyabala Hazarika (wife of the late Trailokyanath Hazarika of Sibsagar), Sushil Kumar Barua (formerly Director of Mining, Jaipur State, and now Director of Geology and Mining, Government of Assam), Birinchi Kumar Barua, Kshirod Kumar Barua (publisher and printer), Smt Lavanyaprabha Datta (wife of Hemchandra Datta of Sibsagar) and Dr Prahlad Kumar Barua (Labour Superintendent, Assam Oil Company, Digboi). Birinchi Kumar was the loveliest of the children in the family and was loved by all people who met him. Whenever there was any illness in the family or in the neighbourhood he busied himself the most and tried to be of the greatest help.

Birinchi Kumar had his early education at Nowgong Sudder Middle Vernacular School and Nowgong Government High English School. He was attentive and diligent as a student and developed an early love for social and literary activities. As a student of Class IV, he organised a society called Juvenile Association and through it a library (1923 or 1924), which he called

Bālya-pustakālaya, and collected small public donations for the purpose. The library, consisting of books contained in an almirah, built of wooden sheets taken of packing boxes, was kept in the auditorium of Nowgong Assamese Dramatic Club. The young enthusiast approached for help great persons like Abdul Majid and the Hon'ble Minister, Ghanashyam Barua. The Minister even condescended to pay a visit to the Association's library and encourage the students with money and very kind words. About this time he also organised a monthly magazine, circulated and run among the boys, of which he was the editor and the principal contributor. The Juvenile Association was also an organisation of social service and offered ready help to the families of the sick and the dead. Birinchi Kumar evinced great interest in general sports and gardening also.

As Bijayrām Barua had to go from one place to another on transfer on duty, the family remained at Nowgong all the time so that the children's education might not be hampered. The family made occasional excursions of its own, once in 1921 going to Chittagong, when Birinchi Kumar had the opportunity of paying visits to the Buddhist vihāras there. His father retired from Government services and was at Nowgong; but diabetes soon began to trouble him, otherwise enjoying good health, when in 1824 he died. This put the family to great hardship as all the children were at school or college—the eldest Lalit Kumar in Berry White Medical School, and Sushil Kumar in the First Year Class at Cotton College, Gauhati. But nothing daunted, all of them continued their studies.

Birinchi Kumar passed the Matriculation Examination, Calcutta University, in the First Division in 1928 and got admitted into the Presidency College in Calcutta, and stayed in the Eden Hostel. He passed the Intermediate Examinations in Arts again in the First Division in 1930, continued in the same college with Honours in Pali and took the B.A. Degree in 1932, securing the much-coveted Ishan Scholarship. He got his M.A. Degree (Pali) from Calcutta in 1934, coming out first in the First Class. Just after taking his B.A. Barua was almost getting into Indian Police Service as a D.S.P., when he was reclaimed to the scholastic line because he could not get a 'riding certificate'! It is at this juncture that he worked as a teacher in the Nowgong Government High School for about two months.

After his M.A. in Pali Barua got admitted into the M.A. classes in Ancient Indian History and Culture and the University Law College, maintaining himself now with private tutorship. His literary activities had already begun, he having started writing short stories (I think his first story was 'Vidrohi ḍekā', published in Volume III, No. 3, of the *Āwāhan*, which bears his name. but the subsequent stories all came out under a pseudonym 'Vīṇā Baruwā') and essays, and editing a children's monthly, *Akaṇ*, for about three years. He developed an antiquarian zeal when he discovered a stone inscription at Ḍabakā (sometimes identified with Ḍabāka of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta) in the Kapilī Valley of his native district of

Nowgong—later to become a site for many historical finds. Even before this, he, while a school student, used to collect old ballads woven round Assam's 19th century Quisling, Badan Barphukan, and the patriot, Maṇirām Dewān. He now interested himself also in the activities of Asam Saṁrakṣiṇī Sabhā, Asam Sāhitya Sabhā, Calcutta Youth Welfare League and Asam Chātra Sammilan. It is about this time that he started a small printing-press at Nowgong. He came in contact with great scholars and nationalist leaders of India in general and of Assam in particular—Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr Hemchandra Raychaudhury, Gr Syamaprasad Mukherji, Dr Stella Kramritsh, Lakshminath Bezbaroa, Tarunram Phookan, Nabinchandra Bardalai, and others.

Barua took his B. L. Degree from Calcutta University. He was appointed Lecturer in the Department of Modern Indian Languages (Assamese) at Calcutta University. In 1938 he joined Gauhati Cotton College as Lecturer in Assamese, and it is with his entry into teaching here that Assamese language and literature became a serious subject for study with the students. Very soon a full-statured course, styled as 'Assamese Second Language', was started and could be offered as one of the major elective subjects.

Assam was crying hoarse for some time for the creation of a University of its own. But nothing palpable was done by the then Government and its Ministers in the State. A movement was, therefore, launched in 1944 under the able leadership of the late Gopinath Bardoloi. A body, called Gauhati University Trust Board, was set up, and public donations were collected with Collection Committees working in every sub-division. Barua actively participated in the movement and acted as an Assistant Secretary of the Board.

Barua proceeded to London in 1945 for studies in the London School of Oriental and African Studies and got his Ph.D. Degree from the University of London in 1947, his thesis approved for the Degree having been later published as *A Cultural History of Assam*, Volume I. On his way home Dr Barua visited Europe, particularly Switzerland and Finland, where he observed how folk-lore was being studied in these countries.

Dr Barua on return home rejoined his services at Cotton College. Gauhati University was started on the 1st of January 1948 through the Gauhati University Act 1947, and postgraduate teaching departments began springing up from the middle of the year, that is, 1948. The Postgraduate Department of Assamese was started on the 1st of December 1948 with the present writer as Lecturer. Dr Barua joined as Reader on the 4th of December, and Dr Banikanta Kakati as Professor a few days later. Dr Barua also became the Secretary, University Classes, from the 1st of February 1950. Although the importance and utility of this office became the centre of a controversy later on, Dr Barua wielded immense power in shaping the different activities of the teaching departments of the University and of the University as a whole. This was found possible because he was a person of great personality and organisational ability. He was, moreover, a member of the first Executive Council of the University. The Department of Assamese was exceptionally fortunate in having both Dr Kakati and Dr Barua as its members. The organisation of the teaching in the Department will, I hope, ever bear the impress of their scholarship. The subject could have been called Comparative Language and Literature in consideration of the fact that Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, English and other Foreign languages and literatures were included in the courses for studies. Assam's social and cultural history also came to form a part of the subject.

Dr Banikanta Kakati died all on a sudden in November 1952. Early in 1953 Dr Barua was appointed Professor in his place from the 1st of February 1953 He was also elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Barua organised a collection drive towards the creation of a lectureship to commemorate Dr Kakati. The result is Professor Banikanta Kakati Memorial Lectures, the first two series of which were delivered by Professor Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Shastri.

Already after his coming over from Calcutta to Gauhati Barua was appointed by the Government of Assam as Honorary Assistant Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, of which Dr Suryya Kumar Bhuyan was the Honorary Director. With effect from the 4th August 1951 he was made the Department's Honorary Deputy Director, which post he held till about 1960.

He was one of the members of the Official Language Commission, appointed by the President of India, which concluded its findings in August 1956.

Dr Barua visited the U.S.S.R. for a few days (leaving India on the 17th November and arriving back on the 3rd December 1961) on a cultural mission sponsored by the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Government of India. He saw Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent and other places, where his chief interest was to meet writers and artists and feeling by what rapid strides Russia was advancing in the different branches of art and literature.

There was an electric dynamism in Dr Barua's activities, and he brought the same character to bear upon his association with the University in several capacities, academic and administrative. It was thus that by the middle of the last decade Dr Barua found himself a most controversial person. His contributions to the growth of the University as a very successful teacher and builder of the physical aspects of the University were often over-looked by many, while the concentration of "power" in him became "the talk of the town". He left the job of Secretary, University

Classes, which shed light and power that was a borrow from his personality, by January 1960. "In 1961 the University had a sudden jolt from an overdose of democracy in certain quarters, with the result that the Vice-Chancellor had to resign and Professor Barua lost his Deanship." Things came to this consummation when the University Court met in a tense atmosphere on the 21st August 1962.

Dr Barua was invited as a Visiting Professor by the Folklore Institute, Indiana University (Bloomington, U.S.A.) for the Winter Semester of 1963. He left for the States on the 24th of January. At the Institute he proved himself to be an effective teacher, taking a keen interest in everything around him. He prepared students from China, Japan, Formosa, Thailand, Africa, Egypt, Turan, Turkey, Israel and the U.A.R. besides those of the States in the subject of Indian folklore. He also travelled across the States for a while and was in hospital for a few days. On his way back he saw Honolulu, Tokyo, Hongkong and Bangkok and reached back home on the 23rd August. Everywhere he established contacts with great folklorists, Orientalists and other scholars.

Dr Barua came back from America with the assignment to prepare an anthology of Indian folk-lore and an encyclopædia of Indian folk-lore in two volumes, but the project, as also his other projects, were left incomplete on his sudden and unexpected departure from the world, which now came so fast. When Orientalists from all over the world collected at New Delhi in the first week of January 1964 to attend the XXVIth International Congress of Orientalists, Barua organised a meeting, which had Professor W. Norman Brown of Pennsylvania University, in the chair, and explained his scheme of the proposed anthology. Coming back from the Congress, Barua found his health fast deteriorating and had to confine himself to bed from time to time. But he had prevailed upon Shri Devkanta Borooah, Education Minister, Assam, to invite the twenty-second session of All India Oriental Conference to Gauhati. He now gave his thought to organising the session. and chalked out a plan for that purpose. This plan was discussed in a meeting of a few scholars with the Education Minister in their midst in Dr Barua's residence on the 17th of February 1964. To start with, a Publication Committee was formed in the meeting and he was made its Convenor. But he had to be hospitalized and the work of organisation had to be postponed. The present writer convened the first meeting of the Publication Committee again in Barua's house on the 21st of March 1964. He participated in the discussion that took place. He seemed to be all enthusiasm and excitement. The midnight that came within a few hours of the meeting brought him a serious attack of illness of the heart. Although he showed signs of a little improvement, he ultimately succumbed to the disease at 8.30 A.M. on the 30th of March 1964.

Dr Barua married on the 15th of June 1949 and on death left behind his wife, Srimati Shantichhaya Barua, and three children—Boijayanta (Raj), Achintya (Manju) and Padmakshi (Rasna).

Dr Barua was a person who could distinguish himself in any company. He showed himself as a leader of men and an organiser of great capabilities. From early childhood he was keen on social service; and later, as a member of the University he could be seen taking the leading part whenever the last rites of a departed colleague were to be performed. Possessing a great interest in gardening, he was responsible for many a tree which to-day stands in the University campus in Greater Gauhati. Rising from not very well-to-do conditions, he had always a heart for the poor. He helped a number of students with money and books. When he was lying dead in the morning of the 30th March 1964, a stream of poor neighbours—labourers and bhangis—pressed into his room, bringing many a tear and a sigh. He was warm as a friend or colleague and loving as a husband or parent. Always busy with books and papers, he found time for picnicing and gossiping, marketing and cooking. He was a teacher in the truest sense of the term.

Dr Barua was connected with many a literary and cultural organisation in the country. He attended several sessions of All India Oriental Coference. He went to Colombo in December 1957 to join the Conference of Orientalists there. He was member of the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, and Convenor of its Advisory Committee for Assamese. He joined the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, held in New Delhi from the 4th to the 10th January 1964, as a delegate of Gauhati University. His very intimate contact with Professors Banikanta Kakati and Krishnakanta Handiqui, the two great scholars, brought very deep influences upon his mind and work.

Expressing sorrow at the sad passing away of Dr Barua, his great guru, Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji, wrote to the present writer : "The passing away of Dr Barua a short while ago has been one of the greatest losses sustained by Indian scholarship in Assam, and we all mourn the sad and untimely demise of such a fine scholar who brought kudos to Indian scholarship."

A man of imposing personality, keen organisational ability and untiring zeal, Professor Barua did everything in his power for the cause of Assamese literature, specially her folk-literature. His scholarly activities not only gave him recognition on a national level—but also raised Assam's prestige outside.

Dr Barua was an acknowledged scholar of Pali and Prakrit, and a historian of Assamese culture. Numerous are his valued papers contributed to various research journals. He edited Sir Edward Gait's *A History of Assam* and published a work on Buddhism, *Bauddhadharma āru Sāhitya* in collaboration with other scholars.

In the field of study of the Assamese language on a scientific basis, Dr Birinchikumar Barua is next only to Dr Banikanta Kakati. His *Asamīyā Bhāṣā* and *Asamīyā Bhāṣā āru Saṁskṛti* are two valuable books devoted to the subject. In his *Asamar Lokasaṁskṛti,* with its English version now to be published, he attempted a detailed study of the folk-culture of Assam. His *Assamese Literature* (P.E.N.), *Asamīyā Kathā-sāhitya,* Puraṇi Bhāg, *Studies in Early Assamese Literature and Modern Assamese Literature* are the three books dealing with ancient and modern Assamese Literature. Another book, *Śaṅkaradeva Vaiṣṇava Saint of Assam* acquaints the non-Assamese world with the genius of the great saint-poet Śaṅkaradeva. His another great work in the study of Assamese literature, *History of Assamese Literature,* has been posthumously published by Sāhitya Akādemi, New Delhi. His *Early Geography of Assam* is a study in the history of Assam's geography.

Besides these, he edited a number of old Assamese classics, including *Aṅkīyā Nāt* of Śaṅkaradeva, Mādhavadeva and Gopāladeva, *Adbhutarāmāyaṇa* and *Śatruñjaya* of Raghunātha Mahanta, and *Vabruvāhanar Yuddha āru Tamradhvajar Yuddha* (edited in collaboration with the present writer), etc.

Another very notable aspect of Professor Barua's career was his hitherto unsurpassed creative works; he was a novelist and short story-writer. He began his literary career in the days of the monthly, *Āwāhan* (1929), and wrote short stories that go by the name of Vīṇā Baruwā. His collections of short stories like *Āghonī Bāi* and *Paṭ-parivartan,* and the two great novels, *Jīvanar Bāṭat* and *Seujī Pātar Kāhinī* (the later under the pseudonym Rāsnā Baruwā) are read widely with love and interest. Vīṇā Baruwā's *Ebelār Nāṭ* is an one-act play with superb concentration. He also edited two children's journals *Akaṇ* (1935) and *Raṅghar* (1948). *Jātakar Sādhu* and *Cuijārlend-bhramaṇ* (Travels in Switzerland) are his gift to children.

Dr Barua's activities were distributed over many fields. An indefatigable worker, he could enthuse other people to work. As a member of the National Sahitya Akademi he organised literary activities among leading writers of Assam. The Akademi honoured him posthumously with the Akademi Award in Assamese for 1964 on the strength of his *Asamar Loka-Saṁskṛti.* During the last few years of his life he took to revitalising the Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti (Assam Research Society) and volunteered to be the editor of its Journal. It was through Dr Barua's efforts that Governments at the centre and in Assam granted funds to Gauhati University for the production of an Assamese translation of the whole of the original Mahābhārata and an encyclopaedia for children. He, however, could edit only the first two volumes of the Assamese Mahābhārata before his untimely death. He was the father of the Assam Academy for Cultural Relations, which had the noble ideals of bringing about a closely knit cultural integration among various shades of Assam's population and establishing contacts with peoples and cultures outside. He associated himself with youth activities and established a World University Service centre at Gauhati.

Professor Barua was a sincere worker, he loved labour ; and his labour—honest and sincere—gave Assam and its people something that can only be termed great. The death of this versatile scholar and illustrious son of Assam has left a void that will perhaps take years to fill.

A Bibliogaphy of the Works of Birinchi Kumar Barua

By

MAHESWAR NEOG

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Journal of the Assam Research Society

Brinchi Kumar Barua

By

RICHARD M. DORSON

In the spring semester of 1963 Professor Barua lectured on "The Folklore of India" as visiting professor of folklore at Indiana University. He stayed on through the summer on a research appointment, and continued to work with our folklore students. I attended all his lectures, and discussed with him projects of mutual and absorbing interest. He participated in our preliminary discussions of the Society for Asian Folklore, and served as a member of the Executive Board when it was organized. We negotiated a contract for two volumes he would edit on "Folktales of India," to appear in the Folktales-of-the-World series. He had other, ambitious projects : for an Encyclopedia of Indian Folklore, for a book surveying the folk traditions of India.

To us Professor Barua appeared imposing, handsome, sturdy, and in continual good spirits. He organized his lectures, the first on their subject in the United States, with logic and clarity, and delivered them with feeling. All his listeners received the impression that Indian civilization was permeated with a folk culture, and that her classics dipped deeply into the wells of folk tradition. "In India a child sings before he talks, and dances before he walks," he said memorably. In one lecture he ingeniously turned around the idea of the caste system, always an obsession to Westerners, and pronounced it a truly democratic institution. In place of the racial, class, and nationalist divisions that rent Western society, the Indian community nourished the spirit of brotherly affection, with each member harmoniously interlinked with the other, secure in his role, at peace and on familiar terms with his neighbor.

Professor Barua became our cherished friend. His sudden death is a heavy blow to his American as well as his Indian colleagues, and to the cause of international folklore scholarship.

Respect for the Memory of Professor Barua

By

A. L. Basham

Professor Birinchi Kumar Barua was among the oldest of my Indian friends, for I had known him since he worked for his doctorate at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. We shared the same supervisor in the late Dr. L. D. Barnett and thus we were, in an academic sense, the sons of the same father. His untimely death was a very grave loss to the study of the history of Assam and to the scholarly life of his native state. Invariably warm-hearted, friendly and helpful, with keen intellect and a wide range of interests, his death will be deplored not only in Assam, but throughout India and wherever things Indian are studied. I cannot offer a lengthier and more solid contribution to the memorial volume, but my respect for the memory of the dead scholar is none the less very real.

A Leading Humanist and Scholar

By

HUMAYUN KABIR

Professor Birinchi Kumar Barua was one of the leading humanists and scholars of contemporary India. He had made a special study of the literature of Assam and collected a great deal of information about the different forms of folk art and folklore. A man of charming personality, he made friends in India and abroad and was one of the finest cultural ambassadors of India. His untimely death is a great loss to the Nation.

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A Writer of the People

By

DEVKANTA BOROOAH

Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua was a writer and scholar; but he was not one of those writers and scholars who lived away from the people in ivory towers. He came from among the people, and remained true to them till the last. He was never uprooted. Born amidst circumstances that strongly smelt of the soil, his soul deeply imbibed the spirit of his native environment. True that he was drawn by his career of a scholar into the atmosphere of classical learning, and that Pali, a classical language, was the subject for his postgraduate education. He specialised too in the history of the culture and civilisation of ancient Assam, which was somewhat remote from the life of the common man. But ultimately he came back to the people, to the expression of their life in folk-poetry and folk-art. In his fiction, particularly in Jīvanar Bāṭat, he paints life on Assam's countryside not only with marked vividness and objectivity, but also with a feeling. Even as a writer of short stories he in many places brings out the essentially rural and idyllic. He went to the U.K. in order to avail of the modern methods of investigations for a scholarly study of the remote history of Kāmarūpa. But his visit to the Scandinavian countries in the wake of his work in sophisticated London fired his imagination and brought him back to his people and their cultural aspirations and achievements. On his return home from the West he was full of talk about folk-song, folk-literature, folk-lore, folk-culture. His own interests gravitated towards folk-culture. He took students under him to work on the folk-lore of Assam. He was invited by Indiana University in the U.S.A. as a Visiting Professor of Indian Folk-lore. This was perhaps a well-merited recognition of his innate love and zeal for the folk, for the basic pattern of Assam's traditional culture. In his untimely death Assam lost an outstanding and genuine people's scholar and writer.

Dr. B. K. Barua—My Reminiscences and A Tribute

By

ROHINI KANTA BARUA

It is only when one is gone that we can realise what we have lost! I could feel that loss more fully with the death of Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua, who for the last thirty-six years had been my friend, philosopher and guide.

I met Dr Barua in 1928. Chandrakanta Das (lately of Cotton College), Barua and I were inmates of Room 6 in Eden Hindu Hostel, Presidency College, Calcutta. The friendship that we forged there lasted till his end, and to-day I am left with but the memories of those years, throughout which we shared our hopes and joys, our sorrows and frustrations.

It is difficult to put in writing all the reminiscences that come in a crowd. I would therefore, venture to chronicle but a few that, I feel, reveals the man we have lost. As I see him, Dr Barua combined in him the gift of a visionary and the capacity to give his visions a concrete shape. He was no idle dreamer. Once he was gripped with an idea or a cause, he would see that it was realised in practice. He had a dogged determination and where other frail hearts faltered, he would not flinch till success was his.

Many of us may not know that the first move for the establishment of a University in Assam began in the early 'thirties, and that it was Birinchi Kumar Barua who gave us the lead. Articles were written in the papers, and meetings were organised to impress on the authorities the urgent need for a university in Assam. But there was a strong opposition from weighty quarters. It may be recalled in this connection that similar opposition was there when the move for starting a College at Gauhati was made in the last few years of the 19th century; and an influential section opposed it on the plea that a few more stipends made available in Calcutta Colleges would suffice! Undaunted by opposition, the university movement began in 1935, under the auspices of the Assamese Students' Welfare League, Calcutta. Barua felt that unless a strong public opinion could be mobilized, the university movement would not gain momentum. So an All Assam University Day was organised and all throughout Assam meetings and processions were held and resolutions demanding the establishment of a university in Assam were passed. The Government of Assam could not ignore the strong public demand and as a result the Cunningham Report was prepared.

In December 1944 a University Convention was held at Gauhati. As the chief organiser of the reception, Barua had to work very hard, and it was due mainly to his efforts that the Convention could be so successful. Just prior to the Convention the appropriate scene had to be set for the activities of the Gauhati University Trust Board, which was to collect funds for a university and hold them in trust. All efforts were directed towards getting our late-lamented leader, Gopinath Bardoloi, as the president of the Trust Board. It was at first difficult to get Bardoloi's consent as he was busy with other urgent problems ; and as some of his very close political associates thought that the time was not opportune to raise the issue of a universiy when the burning question of wresting independence from unwilling hands was looming large. However, Bardoloi at last agreed. But nobody would perhaps know the long and frequent parleys with Bardoloi and the other political leaders that Barua had to carry prior to the obtaining of Bardoloi's consent. It was a great day of elation amongst us, and later events proved that our joy was not in vain.

The collection drive was now to be organized, and it was arranged that Bardoloi would visit all important places in Assam by road. Sub-divisional collection committees were formed. The late Shri Jibanram Phookan and myself were placed in charge of the Dibrugarh Committee. On the day of the arrival of Bardoloi and his party (Barua accompanied him all throughout his tour) we arranged their reception at Shri Radhagovinda Barua's Dibrugarh residence. The elite of the town assembled at the fixed place. Although the meeting was to begin at 4-30 P.M., it was not till late in the day that Bardoloi and his party arrived. They were tired in body, and their spirits too were low. The collection so far was not up to the expectation, and they had met with many a rebuff. However, after a night's rest, it was arranged that we should go to Borgolai, Tinsukia and other places and then concentrate on Dibrugarh town. At Shri R. G. Barua's instance we went straight to the late T. P. Pradhani's place at Bargolai. Pradhani was all hospitality. He gave Bordoloi a cheque for Rs. 5,000 with a promise for Rs. 20,000 more, and treated us all to a sumptuous lunch. After this initial success, luck was in our favour and money poured forth from all quarters—at Tinsukia, Doomdooma, Makum and later on at Dibrugarh itself. It was in Dibrugarh alone that one lac and a half were collected, out of a total cash collection of over six lacs all over Assam. The Trust Board could boast that never before this so much was collected for a single cause. The people of Assam proved how genuine their demand for a separate university was. It should also to be admitted that Dr Barua's was the driving force behind all these efforts. Many hours we passed at the Trust Board office at the Kamrup Academy. In the small band of workers at the office was Maheswar Neog, who now adorns the chair as the Jawaharlal Nehru Professor of Assamese of the same university for the coming of which he gave so much of time and devotion.

Later events—the establishment of the university in 1947 and Dr Barua's contribution to its growth—are too well known for me to recount here. In the early years of this infant institution Dr Barua's personality pervaded all its activities.

Another trait that strikes me most was his intense love for Assam and everything that belongs to this lovely land. This trait found a pronounced manifestation in his love for Assamese language and literature. Ever since his early youth he began contributing to its growth. When we were students at the Presidency College, there were two cultural organisations—Rabindra Parishad and Bankim-Sarat-Samiti. Barua organised on similar lines the Bezbaroa Samiti. We had many an occasion to meet under the auspices of this Samiti and have the opportunity of meeting Sahityarathi Bezbaroa, and hear discourses on Bezbaroa's works. Dr Dinanath Sarma's *Āwāhan* made its appearance when we were boarders of the Hindu Hostel. Barua sustained this journal with short stories under the pen-name 'Bina Barua', that are now classics in Assamese literature. Barua had the knack of infecting others with literary zeal. Many amongst his friends had tried their hands at literary ventures, but while that urge in them later died out, Barua bore the torch steadfastly long thereafter and could blaze a trail of glory. The long list of his books and publications will bear me out in this. The late-lamented poet, Jatindranath Dowerah, was in Calcutta at that time. Dowerah was extremely shy, and would not publish his poems. It was mainly through the efforts of Birinchi Kumar Barua, that a great number of Dowerah's writings could see the light of day. Dowerah's *Kathā-kavitā* was coaxed out of oblivion by Barua's diligence. It is pleasant to recall the almost weekly literary excursions to Dowerah's cosy poetic corner at the Dundas Hostel when Barua persuaded the poet to read out coyly his poems in manuscript, and then to part with them for publication in the *Āwāhan*.

During the third decade of this century, the University of Calcutta changed the medium of instruction from English to Indian languages up to the Matriculation. The then D.P.I. of Assam opposed its introduction in Assam on the ground that we had no text-books in Assamese. Dr Barua took up the challenge and in collaboration with his friends brought out a series of text-books suited to the matriculation standard and that within the short spell of a few months! It is difficult to-day to appreciate the enormity of the task in days when resources were meagre, talents were fewer. To add to this was the dearth of suitable technical terminology in Assamese, which had to be coined all afresh!

Barua joined as Lecturer in Assamese in the Cotton College in 1938. Assamese then accupied a relatively minor position as a subject for study. Most of the students thought that they could have the pass in Assamese with the least labour just since it happened to be their mother tongue. Barua deeply felt this callousness and tried heart and soul to put Assamese in its rightful position. He supplemented the prescribed text-books by his thoughtful and systematic lecture notes, which reflected his erudition not only in his own language but in sister languages of India. He put a deeper meaning into the content of text-books by citing parallel ideas from other literatures, both Indian and foreign, instilled in the students a zeal for going into the richness of old Assamese literature, and initiated them into the different techniques of literary expression; and at once the students were seized of the importance of serious study of Assamese. Within a year of his holding this chair, Assamese really became a "stiff" subject. One distinguished friend of mine then told me that he would never have passed in Assamese with questions set by Birinchi Barua; Barua now became the focal point radiating learning in Assamese, for I could see eager students coming to his house, almost every evening to collect references or books.

Dr Barua left us at a time when his services could have been more fully utilized in the interests of higher academic life in the State. He was mature with experiences of wide travel, gifted with rare scholastic attainments and equipped with undoubtedly efficient administrative capacities. But his health failed him and his restless urge for work only hastened the end. After his educational travel in the States in 1963, I was surprised to find him so much haggard and worn out. When he came back from Delhi after attending the International Congress of Orientalists in the first part of January 1964, he was a sick man. He was taken to the Mission Hospital at Chatribari, and doctors now asked him to take 'complete rest'. I went to see him there and found that he was surrounded by visitors, mostly research associates to whom he was ministering instructions from his bed! I sat with him for a couple of hours. He grew all reminiscent. He told me, "Barua, I have all my life been doing the best I could, and perhaps did quite a lot. How much can one do in one life-time? It has almost come to an end now." It was so prophetic an utterance for he did not live long after that! It was on the 17th of March 1964 that I met him alive for the last time and we had our last long talk. The next time I saw him exactly a fortnight after he had left us for good! There was no more of that genial smile to welcome me and, instead, a dead form cast a gloom all around!

With many of his admirers and friends, I felt bitterly the loss of Dr Barua. He was a giant amongst us, and it will be difficult to find an equal of him for some time to come. We hope the memory of this noble son of Assam will always be fresh in our minds, and although Dr Barua is no more, his deeds will ever shine!

Tribute to a Scholar and Creative Artist

By

PRABHAKAR MACHWE

Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua combined in himself the rare insight of a creative artist, the critical acumen of a philologist and a historian of literature, and the meticulous industry of a field-worker in folk-lore research. Over and above all this, he was a loyal and loving friend.

During my career as an Assistant Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, I met him during the last decade, more than twenty times. He phoned me whenever he was in Delhi for some Conference or a Committee meeting, or on his way to Soviet Union or U.S.A., and we had many interesting sessions. I was his guest whenever I went to Assam and we travelled together from Gauhati to Jorhat, Nowgong, Kaziranga, Shillong and other places. I liked and respected him immensely and he was full of benedictions and blessings for me.

In 1955, I met him for the first time in Asam Sāhitya Sabhā Conference at Gauhati. We discovered that we had many common acquaintances and friends; so also many common pursuits and interests like etymology, cultural anthropology, comparative literature, regional novels and folk-art. Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji was his guru and thus he was a co-pupil with Dr Sukumar Sen and Dr Udai Narain Tiwari, who were all well-known to me because of my lexicographical work in 1948. The first interesting thing which struck me was that he was a kind of bridge between the old and new generations in Assamese literature : on the one hand, he introduced me to Vihagī-kavi Raghunath Chaudhari and Ambikagiri Raichaudhury and Nalinibala Devi and the late Ratnakanta Barkakati; on the other, it was through him that I met Hem Barua, Birendra Kumar Bhattacharya, Syed Abdul Malik, Navakanta Barua, Mahendra Bora and so many younger boisterous, spirited, literary artists. My acquaintance, however scant, with Assamese language and literature, I owe entirely to Dr B. K. Barua's personal friendship. I noticed that he had a very fine sense of humour and he never said a single harsh word, even against the most annoying or boring literary pesterers or sticky hanger-ons. In return I never heard a single bad word about him from any Assamese writer though writers, like pretty women, have hardly a good word for other members of the same tribe, all zealous in jealousy.

I still remember the late night when we saw an Āngāmi Nagā dance against the background of a sombre sky. The memory of my ride with Dr Barua in the thick woods of the wild life sanctuary in Kāziraṅgā, on a huge elephant sniffing his way with his dangling trunk and flea-whisking ear-lober, trampling thick elephant grass, still sends through me a thrill. How like grown-up children we delighted to spot a rhino-ceros family or a tiger drinking water in the early hours of a dawn. Later I wrote two sonnets on 'Kāziraṅgā' and 'Āngāmi Nagā dance' in Hindi.

Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua had great interest in folk-lore research. He showed me the manuscript of the Aṅkīyā-Nāṭ plays collected by him, and seen by the late Dr Amarnath Jha. It was interesting from a linguistic view-point as it was in a Maithili-mixed dialect. I mentioned this to my friend Dr Dashrath Ojha and he worked further on it, in his researches on early Hindi drama. I mentioned once about the serpent-lore collected in various languages like Marathi, Malayalam and Nepali and we spent a fruitful evening on comparing notes. Next time Dr Barua was in Delhi, he brought his book on Assamese folk-culture, a veritable mine and store-house of valuable material for anthropologists, sociologists and literary historians. Once when he was in Delhi, I introduced him to our friend, Artur Isenberg, then of the Ford Foundation, and he was so deeply impressed by Dr Barua's interest in Assamese folk-culture, that Dr Barua was invited to Indiana University in U.S.A. to work on a project as a Visiting Professor. The last time I met Dr Barua was in Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, in the International Congress of Orientalists, where Prof. Norman Brown was paying very high tributes to the enthusiasm and untiring single-minded devotion of Dr B. K. Barua, who was editing the Indian section of and Rāsnā. This was an interesting device to hide the authorship and enjoy Folklore.

He was not only a scholar, but a creative artist. He wrote some stories and two novels: *Jīvanar Bāṭat* and *Seujī Pātar Kāhinī*. I was intrigued to learn that he wrote both of these works under pseudonyms Vīṇā and Rāsnā. This was an interesting device to hide the authorship and enjoy seeing the critics' chivalry from a distance. He told me how he spent an entire summer vacation in hiding in a tea-garden, collecting authentic data and linguistic local colour for his second novel. He has many facets of his personality, which can easily claim for him the title of a *rasajña*. His efforts in editing the Chitra-Rāmāyaṇa shows his interest in medieval painting.

He was suddenly taken away from us by cruel Time, Mahākāla, when he was in his prime. And so much promise was still unfulfilled. When Srimati Shantichhaya Barua came to receive the Akademi Award last April in Delhi, I was reminded of all the good things done to me by her late learned husband and my eyes were befogged. Dr B. K. Barua will be not only remembered in Assam as an erudite scholar, popular teacher and well-known author, but throughout the Indian world of letters his loss will be mourned. I still can vividly picture his radiant face, bubbling with zest and an ever-smiling welcoming curiosity. I feel a sense of void when I remember that this face will not be seen any more. This personal tie of cordiality which Birinchi Kumar established so easily, is a special quality becoming so scarce day by day among modern scholars and historians. An intellectual need not be morose and always looking like 'the grandfather cast in alabaster',—this was the message the late Dr Barua left. I remember one evening in Gauhati University he asked me to distribute the prizes away and gave a speech which everyone enjoyed with peals of laughter ringing all around him. Jolly, simple, straight-forward, large-hearted, hard-working, ever-helpful and a person above all narrow bindings of caste, language or province was Dr B. K. Barua. I cherish his friendship as a valued possession, not to be easily substituted.

A Humble Tribute

By

K. R. KRIPALANI

I am glad to know that the Assam Committee of the All India Oriental Conference is bringing out a commemoration volume of Indological Studies in the memory of Prof. Birinchi Kumar Barua. Prof. Barua was a pioneer of modern literature in Assamese and had the unique distinction of being at once a great scholar and a creative writer. In fact, he was creative even in his scholarship. I had the privilege of close association with him from the inception of the Sahitya Akademi, both in his capacity as Convener of the Akademi's Advisory Board for Assamese and as Member of the Akademi's Executive Board and General Council. In both these capacities, it was a great pleasure to work with him, not only because of his great learning and his literary and critical ability, but because of his charming and amiable personality. His premature death was a great loss to Indian literature. I join with his many admirers in paying my humble tribute to his noble memory.

भारतीय साहित्य के आत्मीय : डा० बरुवा

भारतभूषण अग्रवाल

पहली अप्रैल '६४ की सुबह जब चाय पीकर "टाइम्स आफ इण्डिया" के पन्ने खोले तो उस समाचार पर नजर पड़ते ही अखबार हाथ से छूट गया। हृदय जोर से चीत्कार कर उठा, "नहीं, यह सच नहीं है, यह नहीं हो सकता।" कुछ दिनों पहले ही तो डा० बरुवा के दर्शन हुए थे जब वे अमरीका में एक वर्ष के सफल प्रवास के बाद अकादेमी कार्यालय में पधारे थे। तब भला कौन कह सकता था कि कुछ ही दिनों बाद वे हमें छोड़कर चले जाएंगे। बड़ी मुश्किल से मैंने बिन्दु जी से कहा "बिन्दु ग़ज़ब हो गया।"

और मन में एक-एक कर डा० बरुवा के सुखद सान्निध्य से बिताए दिन उभर आये, उनका प्रभावपूर्ण मुस्कराता व्यक्तित्व, उनकी निश्छल सादगी, साहित्य-सेवा में उनकी लगन और तत्परता। दो-तीन दिन तक में अजीब खोयी-खोयी-सी हालत में रहा। कृपलानी जी से उनकी चर्चा करते समय और अकादेमी बुलेटिन के लिए उनके सम्बन्ध में टिप्पणी लिखते समय मेरी आखें फुट पड़ी थीं। बाद में मैं यही सोचता रहा कि यदि मेरी यह हालत है तो फिर उनकी क्या दशा होगी जिन्होंने उनके सहयोगी के रूप में न जाने कितने दिन उनके साथ काम किया है। और उनके परिवार के सदस्यों की मनोदशा की तो कल्पना करना भी कठिन लगता था।

सच तो यह है कि कई महीने गुजर जाने पर आज भी उनके बारे में सोचता हूं तो विचलित हो उठता हूं। मन इतना भर आता है कि कुछ भी कहने की तबीयत नहीं होती। डा० बरुवा के आकस्मिक निधन से असम साहित्य और भारतीय साहित्य के प्रेमियों के मन में जो घाव हो गया है उसके भरने में वर्षों लगेगे। क्योंकि डा० बरुवा ने जो काम अपने हाथ में लिये थे वे अब भी अधूरे हैं, उनकी देन चुक नहीं गयी थी। और उनके बिना यह काम कब और कैसे पूरा होगा, ये प्रश्न भी समाधान मांगते हैं।

डा० बरुवा से मेरा परिचय साहित्य अकादेमी में आनेके बाद का ही था, इसलिए

यों वह केवल चार वर्ष का ही परिचय था। पर इन चार वर्षों में मैं उनके इतने निकट आ गया था और उनके कर्मरत जीवन को इतने निकट से देख सका था कि वर्षों में उसकी नाप नहीं हो सकती। त्यों-त्यों मेरे हृदय में उनके लिए आदर और श्रद्धा बढ़ती ही गई। उनकी कार्यप्रणाली इतनी निर्भूल थी और साहित्य के प्रति उनकी निष्ठा इतनी निर्द्वन्द्व थी कि वे सहज ही सबके आत्मीय और स्वजन बन जाते थे। स्वार्थ अथवा उलझन का लेश भी उनके व्यक्तित्व में न था।

उनके व्यक्तित्व के निर्माण में उनकी उदार और विस्तृत शिक्षा का निश्चय ही बहुत बड़ा हाथ था। असम-निवासी होते हुए भी उनकी उच्च शिक्षा कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय में हुई थी, और बाद में लन्दन, आक्सफोर्ड और स्वीडेन में। वे इस बात के जीते-जागते प्रमाण थे कि प्रान्तीयता की संकीर्णता को जीतने के लिए उदार शिक्षा सबसे कारगर उपाय है। देश-विदेश से ऐसा विस्तृत परिचय होने के कारण ही डा० बरुवा असमीया साहित्य की सच्ची सेवा कर सके और समस्त साहित्य-जगत का सहयोग पा सके। दो-तीन वर्ष पूर्व जब असम में संकीर्णता की लहर ने बंग-विरोधी रूप धारण कर लिया था, और कुछ दिनों गौहाटी में बड़े निन्दनीय और जघन्य प्रदर्शन किए गए, तब डा० बरुवा ने अपने प्राणों की बाजी लगाकर उस आवेश को ठण्डा करने में सहयोग दिया। जून '६२ में जब मैं गौहाटी में उनके निवास-स्थान पर गया था तब रात को भोजनोपरान्त उन्होंने वह लोमहर्षक घटना सुनाइ थी जब अपने घर में ऊपर की मंजिल में बंगाली किराएदार रखने के कारण उन्हें सिरफिरी भीड़ का सामना करना पड़ा था, और उनके अडिग निश्चय ने आखिर भीड़ को निरस्त कर दिया था। अकादेमी की जनरल कौंसिल और कार्यकारी मण्डल के सदस्य के रूप में और असमीया परामर्श मण्डल के संयोजक के रूप में उनकी इस उदार दृष्टि और विशालहृदयता के अनेक प्रमाण हमें मिलते रहे। साहित्य अकादेमी असमीया में अपना कार्यक्रम उन्हीं के सक्रिय सहयोग पर पूरा कर सकी।

अन्य भाषाओं और साहित्यों के प्रति उदार होने के साथ ही डा० बरुवा असमीया से अटुट अनुराग रखते थे। उनका यह सन्तुलन उनकी रचनाओं और कार्यकलापों में सर्वत्र दिखाई पड़ता है। वे असमीया के सर्वमान्य विद्वान थे। गौहाटी विश्वविद्यालय में वे असमीया के प्रोफेसर थे, और उनके दिशा-निर्देशन में असमीया साहित्य के अनेक ग्रंथों का प्रणयन हुआ, और अनेक क्षेत्रों में शोध हुई। विश्वविद्यालय के विद्यार्थी उनके प्रति जो भक्ति भाव रखते थे वह किसी भी शिक्षक के लिए गौरव

की वस्तु थी। उन्हीं के सक्रिय प्रयत्नों से असम अकादेमी आफ कल्चरल रिलेशन्स की स्थापना हुई और असम साहित्य सभा की गति अग्रसर हुई। यही नहीं, अनेक शिक्षा संस्थाएं उनके सहयोग और दिशा-निर्देशन से उपकृत हुई हैं। सन् '६० में जब मैं गौहाटी में पहली बार गया था तब वे डिब्रूगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना के प्रयत्नों में इतने डुबे हुए थे कि रात के दो-दो बजे तक टाइपराइटर खटकता रहता था।

सार्वजनिक जीवन में उनका इतना केन्द्रीय महत्त्व होते हुए भी वे विनय और सद्भाव की मूर्ति थे। अपनी असम यात्राओं में मुझे न जाने कितने लेखकों से परिचय आलाप का सौभाग्य मिला, पर डा० बरुवा की सभी वे मुक्तकण्ठ से प्रशंसा की। इसका मूल कारण यही था कि डा० बरुवा आगे बढ़ने में नहीं, आगे वढ़ाने में विश्वास रखते थे। कोई भी कार्यक्रम हो, कैसी भी योजना हो, वह सदैव अपने सहयोगियों की अवसर दिलाने में लगे रहते थे। स्वतंत्रता के बाद असम साहित्य ने जो अभूतपूर्व प्रगति की है, उसमें डा० बरुवा के इस निस्वार्थ भाव का महत्त्वपूर्ण योग रहा है। क्योंकि दोष की भांति गुण भी संक्रामक होते हैं। उनकी इस कार्यप्रणाली ने ऐसे बहुतेरे साहित्यकारों की प्रोत्साहन दिया है जो निस्वार्थ भाव से साहित्योन्नति में लगे हैं। डा० बरुवा की इस सम्यक दृष्टि ने असम साहित्य-क्षेत्र में एक और विलक्षण वातावरण की सृष्टि की है—वहां मुझे कहीं भी नवीन ओर प्राचीन का भेद देखने को नहीं मिला। उनके घर पर मूर्धन्य लेखक और नवोदित लेखक—सब एकसी आत्मीयता से उठते-बैठते मिले।

साहित्य-समीक्षक, भाषाविद् ओर शिक्षक के नाते तो डा० बरुवा बरेण्य थे ही, लोक-संस्कृति में भी उनकी रुचि अगाध थी। बरसों उन्होने असम के जन-जीवन का, प्राचोन इतिहास का और लोक-संस्कृति का अध्ययन किया था, अनेक नए तथ्य उद्घाटित किए थे और उनके सम्बन्ध में विधिवत् अनुशीलन की नीवं डाली थी। उनकी उसी निष्ठा से प्रभावित होकर अमरोका के एक विश्वविद्यालय ने उन्हें भारतीय लोक-साहित्य के बृहत् संकलन का सम्पादक नियुक्त किया था। डा० बरुवा इस संकलन की तैयारी में इतने जी-जान से जुटे हुए थे कि उन्होंने न रात 'देखा और न दिन। उनके अकस्मात् निधन से उनका यह कार्य अघूरा ही रह गया है।

और मानो इतनी दिशाएं भी अपर्याप्त हों, कि डा० बरुवा सफल और उच्चकोटि के उपन्यासकार भी थे। उनका प्रसिद्ध उपन्यास 'सेउजी पातर काहिनी' (हरी पतियों की कथा) असम के चायबागान के जीवन का अन्यतम चित्र है जिसमें उनका लोक-

संस्कृति विषयक अध्ययन इतनी रोचकता से पिरोया गया है कि देखते ही बनता है। यह उपन्यास उन्होने 'रासना बरुवा' छद्म नाम से प्रकाशित किया था, और इसकी इतनी धूम मची हुई थी कि वह साहित्य अकादेमी पुरस्कार के लिए भी अनुशंसित हुआ था। डा० बरुवा अकादेमी के कार्यकारी मण्डल के सदस्य थे और नियमतः पुरस्कार नहीं पा सकते थे, इसलिए अन्तिम मंजिल पर उसे छोड़ देना पड़ा। पर इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि वह ऐसा उपन्यास है जो भारत की हर भाषा में अनूदित होना चाहिए।

ऐसा कर्मठ, दूरदर्शी और प्रतिभाशाली कुल ५२ वर्ष की आयु में हमारे बीच से उठ जाए—यह बात जब भी सोचता हूं तो तिलमिला उठता हूं। उनकी मृत्यु का संवाद पाकर अपने एक मित्र को मैने जो वाक्य लिखा था, वही मेरे भाव का सच्चा परिचायक है: 'ऐसा लगता है, मानो किसी ने किसी महाकाव्य के अन्तिम पृष्ठ फाड़ डाले हों।'

Dr B. K. Barua as an American Saw Him

By

SATISH CH. KAKATI

A couple of years ago in the month of July I had a chance meeting with an American professor. In the course of my talk with him the American professor asked me if I had any acquaintance with Dr Barua. I was not sure which Dr Barua he meant, for the simple fact that there are so many Baruas in Assam. Therefore, I hesited to reply to his query. He understood my predicament and immediately said "I mean Dr B. K. Barua".

The American professor was Dr Richard M. Dorson. He was on a trip to London as a guest lecturer of London University, and has been a Director of the Folklore Institute under the auspices of Indiana University on whose invitation Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua went early in 1963 to Indiana (U.S.A.) as a visiting professor to speak on folklore of India and where he spent about a year or so.

My acquaintance with Dr Dorson was inevitably very brief. Nevertheless I had no doubt from the talk lasting only half an hour with the American professor that he had very deep affection and regard for Dr. Barua. For me it was indeed a matter of pride and pleasure to hear from a distinguished foreigner words of compliment and appreciation about one's friend particularly on a foreign soil.

Upon the sad and unexpected death of Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua that took place on March 30, 1964, I instantly felt that I must write to Dr. Dorson who had very high regard for the Assamese scholar, and it was a surprise to me that within a week of my letter Dr Dorson conveyed to me (April 6, 1964) from Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana (U.S.A.), his profound feeling of sorrow at Dr Barua's death.

Here is what Dr Dorson wrote in the letter : "The news of Dr Barua's death is a grievous shock. Dr Barua was one of the finest men I have ever known. In the semester he spent here at Indiana University just a year ago he made a memorable contribution to our program. I attended all of his lectures on Folklore of India, and found them beautifully presented, as did our students, with whom he formed firm friendship.

"Dr Barua and I had many talks and developed a number of plans for folklore research in India and Asia, and I had looked forward to visiting him in Gauhati. He had signed a contract with the University of

Chicago Press and myself to prepare two volumes on the Folktales of India, in the series on Folktales of the World. He was projecting an Encyclopaedia of Indian Folklore. He served as a member of the executive board of our newly organized Society for Asian Folklore. He was writing a book on the folk culture of all India. Single-handedly he was attempting to fill a great and pressing need for scholarly studies of the folklore riches in India. There is no one to take his place.

"I am going to request the editor of the journal of Asian Folklore Studies, Matthias Eder, to make our 1964 issue a memorial number to Birinchi Kumar Barua. Also I will ask his student, Dr Praphulladatta Goswami, to write a tribute to him and discussion of his life's work. I hope that Dr Goswami may carry on some of the unfinished projects of Dr Barua.

"Will you kindly convey to Mrs Barua and her family the heartfelt condolence of Mrs Dorson and myself, and my own bitter sense of loss at the passing of a great and good man."

The death of Dr B. K. Barua has removed a promising and leading figure from the literary and cultural life of India particularly of Assam. When he was in Indiana University in connection with his lecture tour, I asked him to write from there about how American students and intellectuals carry on their studies. Although he had apparently a strenuous programme of work there he did spare a little of his time to write a series of articles which I published in the Assamese weekly, *Asam Bāṇī,* and which, as I could later gather, evoked wide appreciation among our students. This particular series of Dr Barua's was so popular with its readership that the sister publications of Assam made requests to Dr Barua while he was in Indiana University to write special articles. I was surprised that he found time to contribute his impressions to almost all the journals of Assam. I believe he contributed these articles with a view to inspiring the youth of Assam whose welfare, to my mind, he very much wished and worked for. It is unfortunate God did not spare him long to put in concrete shape a good deal of programmes which he outlined to me in my private talk with him. One of such plans, as he disclosed to me on the eve of his death, was that a Department of Journalism be started in the University of Gauhati. Being not very sanguine myself about the prospect of a department of the kind I asked him what made him think aloud of this subject. Dr Barua's answer was simple. He said, "I found in my three foreign tours (U. K., Soviet Russia and U.S.A.) journalism is a very important branch of studies with a number of important Universities and I strongly feel it should be so with our own University too." But his dream remains unfulfilled. If that dream one day takes any concrete shape, it will be a real tribute to the departed Assamese scrolar, Dr B. K. Barua.

Birinchi Barua : Reminiscences

By

BIPIN KUMAR BARGOHAIN

With all my immense regards for Barua as a scholar, I must confess that whenever I remember him, I remember him more as a man than as a pundit. The reason is, during all the several years when we frequently met as students studying first in Presidency College and later in the University M.A. and Law Colleges in Calcutta, he never rubbed in on me the fact that he was senior to me by two or three years. He treated me as one of his friends. When I now look back to those days, I feel convinced that Barua was far far more matured mentally than most of the other Assamese boys who made the circle with him in Calcutta at that time. I was quite immature. It must have been Barua's maturity which held me to him under a spell and that first impression made on my still unsophisticated mind has indelibly stuck. Birinchi Barua, Jiban Phukan, Laksheswar Sharma (IAS), Rohini Barua (Ph.D.), Chida Babu (Registrar, G.U.), Jogen Saikia, (M.Sc), Chandra Das (Professor, Cotton College), Chakrapani Das were the permanent members of an *āḍḍā* at Eden Hindu Hostel and later at Hardinge Hostel. Birinchi Barua used to live in a hired flat of his own. The most amazing thing of all was, Birinchi Barua attended classes, beat *āḍḍās* and spent almost the whole day with his friends, and yet he regularly brought out a beautiful children's monthly magazine, *Akaṇ,* at the end of every month. When he found the time to visit the press, supervise the printing, collect articles and edit them, was a complete mystery to us. He was an incredibly tireless worker, but always silent and never bragging. He was extremely shy. But in quips and in which he freely indulged among his close friends none could beat him. His innocently mischievous thoughts could be easily detected in his bright eyes. When his shyness would not permit him to speak out his mind face to face, he would later on express it in writing. He was, however, too kind-hearted even to hurt a fly. He possessed an uncommon sense of humour. His writings bore these marks. He would caricature even his best friend. But, lampooning ? Never. It was against his grain to be rude to any one, not even to his enemy. That was the secret of his making and keeping friends who, I am sure, count in legion. Loyalty to friends is a thing which is extremely rare, particularly in this age (if we can rely on historical statements). Barua had this rare quality in him.

He was an indefatigable worker. The extraordinary rapidity and facideness with which he wrote and brought out book after book during the compartively very short span of his creative career would bear eloquent testimony to this aspect of his life. I still cannot understand how he found it possible to do so. When did he read, when did he write, and when did he sleep? It really passes me. But he has proved one thing beyond one's doubt that one *can* achieve it all. Here is a lesson for those who plead that they cannot find time to study and write at one and the same time.

On the merit of his works, however, I must admit I feel myself absolutely inadequate to make any assessment whatever. But I am very happy to live with whatever I received from him as a friend. I feel sad that destiny cut short such a most talented and brilliant scholar and a perfect gentleman.

Reminiscences of Dr B. K. Barua

By

JOGENDRANATH SAIKIA

In the early part of July 1928 I was one of the three newly admitted students of the Presidency College, Calcutta, who were alloted seats in a room of the Eden Hindu Hostel. It was a four-seated room and we came to know that the fourth inmate was also an Assamese, one Birinchi Kumar Barua from Nowgong. At that time there had been a notion in some quarters that the Nowgong students were noted for their elegance and proficiency in the game of tennis. When our new room-mate joined us, we found him a simple, stout young man, rather shy in nature and not at all interested in playing tennis. Here an incident comes to my mind. In the middle of November 1928 we planned a trip to the Botanical Gardens at Sibpore. We were almost ready to depart when an Assamese resident of Calcutta happened to come to us. He was talking with Barua. When he came to know our programme, he asked Barua to dress up and not to wait on account of him. Though Barua was absolutely ready for the occasion, the gentleman probably imagined that he had yet to dress up. We looked at each other and tried to make some polite, incoherent reply. Simplicity was an essential quality in the late Dr Barua's life.

The growth and development of individuality in a person and a clear exposition of what is individuality are things which are not easy to explain. It is said that individuality in a person is his characteristic way of going at person and things. But, I think it is a fact that a person of strong individuality creates an impression in any environment. Within a year, it was apparent that Dr Barua has changed appreciably. From a shy youth, he has changed into a confident and responsible youngman who was treated with respect by all concerned, well-known to all in the Hostel. At that time he was very useful to us at least in one respect. The Hindu Hostel ward boys usually did not come to attend us when we called for them. But, there were an exception in the case of late Dr Barua. A single call from him, was immediately responded to by attention from the ward boys. Later on, whenever, one of us needed the services of a ward boy, usually requested Dr Barua to call him.

When Dr Barua joined the Presidency College he was a fairly good student, but he was not noted for academic brilliances. Before he completed his student career at Calcutta, there was no doubt about his brilliance.

He achieved it by dint of hard work. It is said that there are two really educative media. They are contact with well integrated personalities and occupation with wholesome work. I think late Dr Barua was fortunate in having both these media. In the later stage of his student career, he was in constant touch with Dr Sunitikumar Chatterji, Dr Benimadhab Barua and Nilmani Babu, the Head of the Pali Department. No doubt they inspired him and made him work harder and harder. Was it luck that put him in contact with these eminent teachers? No, I think it is his sincerity and eagerness to work that impressed his teachers. The Head of the Department of Pali, Presidency College, had great faith in him. He believed that his pupil would carry on research work and make some substantial contribution in the field. Even after Dr Barua left the Presidency he reminded Dr Barua. Whenever he happened to meet him he spoke these words "Birinchi will my hope remain unfulfilled?"

The Eden Hindu Hostel boys arranged the performance of a jatra on the Saraswati Puja day every year. It was not that the boys were very keen on the jatra performance. They wanted it as a cloak to provide them with an opportunity for staging caricature and criticism of the Hostel and college authorities. It was something of Cathersis, an outlet for the anti Government and anti administration feelings stored in the minds of the student. Sometimes this exceeded the limits. When Dr Barua was a senior post Graduate student residing in the Hindu Hostel, the then Hostel Superintendent Prof. Chatterji, wanted to stop the jatra performance. The Boarders were at a loss as to what to do. Then late Dr Barua, went to the Superintendent and took full responsibility and promised that there would be no demonstration or caricuture against the authorities. The superintendent agreed, but he made Barua fully responsible for everything. The Eden Hindu Hostel had its first peaceful jatra Performance in that year.

Dr H. C. Bhuyan, a former Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University once remarked "The credit of raising the standard of Assamese must go to Birinchi". Yes it is a fact. When I think about my I.Sc. days in the Cotton College, I must admit that in those days Assamese was a subject, which demanded no serious study. It was easy to secure pass marks or even fairly good marks by doing the translation piece, writing an essay and answering a few stock questions from *Kumar-haran*. In those days lack of seriousness in the part of the students was apparent in the Assamese class. But when Dr Barua joined as lecturer in the Assamese Department, he made the students feel that Assamese is also a subject which must be taken seriously. He himself worked very hard and went to the class fully prepared. He joined the Cotton College in the last half of 1938. In 1939, I stayed with him as I was working in the Cotton Collegiate School. Everyday Dr Barua used to get up at 4 A.M. and worked till 7 A.M. in order to prepare his daily lectures. Yes, he raised the standard of Assamese teaching, but for this he had to work hard for several years.

I left Gauhati in 1940 and came back here in 1958. In the meantime Dr Barua became a prominent figure in the university, but his health deteriorated, probably due to excessive mental work. His energy and enthusiasm, however, remained undiminished. He had developed the quality of inspiring others. In 1959, the State Publication Board asked me to write a book on Insects for the children. Zoology was not my subject and I was full of doubt. I spoke to Dr Barua about it. But Dr Barua did not allow me to finish. He suggested some reference books, available at the Publication Department Library, and asked me to go there and make notes on the subjects. He also made some useful suggestions how to make the topics interesting. He suggested that Assamese colloquial sayings may be incorporated wherever possible. As retreat was impossible, I had to go ahead with my work and finish it. After it was published he praised me for my work and said that this is one of the books, he used to read to his children.*

The late Dr Barua had the capacity to impress people in any company. When the Government of India decided to start Extension Services Centres in the Country in 1954, Assam was not allotted a centre. The reason was that there was no training college in Assam at that time and there was no Independent Department of B.T. in the University. Later on Shri R. K. Kapur Under Secretary to the Government of India came to Gauhati to explore the possibilities of starting an Extension Services Centre here. At first he was not satisfied and he thought no Centre should be allotted to the Gauhati University at that time. Then he met Dr Barua and discussed the matter with him. After the discussion Shri Kapur changed his mind and agreed to allow the opening of a centre here, on condition that Dr B. K. Barua acts as the Honorary Director. Dr B. K. Barua was a very busy man in 1957. He did not want any extra responsibility. But he had to accept it, as it came as a challenge from Shri Kapur.

Had Dr Barua any faults? Yes, he had faults. I do not think that creation of perfection is any part of the scheme of the creator. He had faults, but his faults are those of a big man without any tinge of meanness. He was impetuous and emotional and as such he lost his temper sometimes. But he was ever ready to make amends shortly afterwards. He is dead and gone. Assam is all the more poorer for the loss of his vigorous personality. May he rest in peace.

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* This book by Shri Saikia entitled *Patangar Kāhinī* won a Central Government award.—EDITORS

Birinchi Kumar Barua as I Saw Him

By

P. D. CHAUDHURY

Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua, who got his M.A. in Pali from the Calcutta University with the first position in Class I, and myself started our life's job-seeking struggle almost simultaneously and, if I may say so, it started with a dramatic duel in the context of the Curatorship of the Museum. Dr Barua lost in the combat not because he was inferior to me in any respect, but because he was ordained by the Almighty to a different line in a much higher plane. Starting as a lecturer in Calcutta University, he became Professor of Assamese and Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Gauhati University. A friendliest foe I have ever met in the arena of art and culture. It was a pleasure and a privilege to play him and play with him.

Since 1942 it was a 'must' for three of us—Dr Barua, Shri S. C. Rajkhowa (our present D.P.I.) and myself—to go round our country attending meetings of the All India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress held in different important cities of India. It was also some sort of a practice for Barua and myself to fell out on a trifle but Shri Rajkhowa was the unfailing 'adhesive' to connect us firmly time and again with his intelligent and forceful arguments. After our compromise we used to hail full-throated,—'Long live Rajkhowa!'

In 1941-42 we, the 'trio' an appellation attributed to us by our learned guru, Professor L. N. Chattarji (then Professor of Sanskrit, Cotton College, Gauhati), left for Hyderabad, where both the conferences namely, those of the Indian History Congress and the All India Oriental Conference were to be held. We visited Nagpur, Lucknow and Calcutta before we came back to Gauhati.

In 1943-44 we visited Benares, Aligarh and some other places. On this mission of ours we had a peculiar experience. Along with other delegates we were also out to see the excavation carried out at Ahichchatra, a site placed in a remote part of Uttar Pradesh. The train stopped at a small station. To our utter dismay no porters were to be found to carry our luggage. Time was also short, Barua readily wove out a way. He ordered me to police our paraphernalia and started carrying the heavier luggages to the bus parked at a distance, asking Shri Rajkhowa at the same time, to carry and follow him with the lighter baggages. Suresh and myself were lost in admiration at his potential performance. That such a gay cavalier, tough and unobstrusive, would pass away so prematurely, was beyond any imagination. An irony of fate indeed!

Very few people, possibly know that Barua was a lover of games and sports. In his Ujanbazar premises he started a Badminton Club, which quite a few players of name and fame joined ;—namely, Shri H. C. Bhuyan (now Dr. H. C. Bhuyan, the retired Chairman, Public Service Commission), Principal Hem Barua (now a member of the Parliament), myself and so on. A top class player, Shri S. Sing, then No. 4 of U.P., also joined us for a couple of days. We enjoyed this 'Barua Club' with its sumptuous repertoire of tea and coffee, chats and gossips for a couple of years between 1942 and 1945.

One day there was a heated argument over a point in a game of badminton. It lasted for quite a few minutes. Dr Barua brought the members to their own selves with his never failing smile, with his reasonable and suave persuations. Then all the members parted with shake of hands, congratulating Dr Barua on his diplomatic achievement.

He was elected the Editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Assam Research Society* (Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti). He rejuvenated the activities of this Samiti. The later issue, that is, the Kaliram Medhi Commemoration Volume, will ever remain a testimony of his popularity in the scholarly world. Professor Barua was taken away from our midst on 31.3.64. As President of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti and on behalf of my ownself, I offer respectful homage to Dr Barua, who is no more with us.

Dr Barua as a Student of Folk Culture

By

PRAPHULLADATTA GOSWAMI

Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua's interests were multifarious and, burdened as he was with the typical Indian professor's weekly quota of classes, he could not rest without finding time to range from history to fiction and Vaisnavite literature to folklore. Late in life, in the fifties, his mind turned to things sociological, and he started writing essays on themes like fiishlore, mantras, serpent worship—custome and beliefs with which he had not been quite unfamiliar since his early life but which he seemed to notice afresh all about him in a state which is a melting pot of various racial elements with their diverse and, sometimes overlapping, beliefs, customes and rituals.

He wrote sometimes in English, as in the Journals of the Assam Research Society and Gauhati University, at other times in Assamese in one or other of the local magazines. The quality of his work was not always even, but it served the purpose of focusing attention on certain aspects of our culture. He found the monographs written on Assam's tribes by such scholars as Hutton and Mills and the District Gazetteers prepared by Allen of considerable use and suggestiveness. He also noticed scattered articles written by Assamese scholars on one or another aspect of the lower culture of the land. All this seemed to have inspired him with the idea of constructing his most important academic work: *Asamar Loka-saṁskṛiti*, the popular oı folk culture of Assam (1961). An attempt is made here to summarize the contents of this book.

In some nineteen chapters Dr Barua has made an attempt to analyze some of the features characterizing the popular or lower culture of the people of Assam. In chapter I the author gives a general view of such features as beliefs connected with animals and birds, trees, agriculture, the *saṁskāras* (birth, marriage, etc.), folk festivals. Some of these have been taken up in detail in later chapters. He makes a statement in this chapter which is significant but which does not seem to have been worked out in the book: "Of all the influences on the folk literature and culture of Assam the chiefest is Chienese or Tibeto-Burman." One difficulty about any study of the popular culture of Assam or any other region of India for that matter is this sifting of influences which have gone to give India a sort of Indian-ness. That even Assam tribes, apparently having Tibeto-Burman affiliations, have absorbed Hindu myths, beliefs, cults, etc. are ignored or not noticed.

The second chapter of the book deals with the geographical factors that have influenced the choice of river banks for habitation, building of bamboo houses, use of fish as food, worship of a snake goddess, etc. The next chapter takes up certain types of folk-literature: riddle, lullaby, marriage song, folktale. The author observes that the characteristics of folk-literature are more social (socio-logical?) than literary. He notes that it is necessary to observe the language as used at the folk level. Folk belief covers several chapters: folk beliefs concerning the snake, fish, fowl, areca-nut. This part of the work is considerably linked up with the tribal background of the land. The author observes, "There is a general belief among the Assamese as well as the tribals that snakes reside in water, rice granaries and places containing wealth. In olden days when people dug takns they used to plant a post in the middle of a tank and carve a snake on it. The post was known as the *nāg*." The Manasā cult has produced a mass of literature, dealing with the story of Beulā and Lakhindār. Fish is allowed to Brahmans in Assam, though certain types of fish are not eaten by various sections of the people. Even tribals observe some of these tabus. Fish is a fertility symbol and its use is observable in auspicious occasions like marriage. There is a significant marriage song:

> Keep in a tub a pair of *māgur* fish,
> keep them in front of the bride,
> release the same pair in a river,
> long-lived sons you will get.

Fish seen in a dream indicates birth of a child or marriage. The author has cited some tribal myths in order to show the importance of fish in the beliefs of the Mongoloid tribes of the land. According to the Kachārīs the world was created by Bāthau Brāi (Mahādeva). The first creature created by Mahādeva was the fish, only after it was created Lakshmi. There was rivalry between the fish and Lakshmī [Kachārīs actually do not call her by that name: they call her Māināo] and Pārvatī suggested to her husband: "Let them live in peace for the welfare of mankind. Please go to them and whoever stands on your left will be considered superior." Lakshmī stood on his left and since then Lakshmī has been considered superior to the fish. Fowls occupy an important position in the religious beliefs of the people of Assam. Fowls and their eggs are used in divination, in marriage and in other rituals. Even Hindus plant an egg—though not fowl egg—under the place where the bride and the groom are ceremonially bathed in marriage. The egg is a fertility symbol. Fowls are sacrificed by the tribes to give offerings to ancestral spirits and to propitiate spirits of diseases. Some of the tribes offer fowls and eggs before setting about their plantation. The medieval rulers of Assam had officers to soothsay by means of legs of fowls.

The custom of eating or chewing areca-nuts is found all over South-east Asia. Scholars have opined that the word *tāmbūla* is non-Aryan. This custom finds mention for the first time in Pali literature. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, written probably in the tenth century, mentions areca-nuts as an important item in Brahmanical rituals. Old inscriptions of Assam refer to gardens of areca-nuts found on the banks of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. In medieval times the rulers kept officers to supply with preparations of areca-nuts, betel leaves, etc. Even Vaiṣṇava monasteries have persons assigned to prepare *guwā* (Skt. *guvāka*), again a non-Aryan word. *Tāmol-pān* occupies an important place in the social life of the Assamese. A guest is first given a piece of areca-nut. Respects are indicated by offering areca-nuts, say, to a monastic head or to the public. A piece of areca-nut is frequently a love token. On the other hand, in parts of the land a husband and a wife indicate divorce by tearing a betel leaf in two. Such divorce is socially valid. Assamese people chew undried and even immature areca-nuts and in the preparation of *tamol*, as it is known, areca-nut, betel leaf, lime and specially prepared tobacco leaf are used.

An interesting chapter of the book is concerned with oaths and abuse. To indicate anger and annoyance the secret parts may be shown or else gestures may be made to indicate them. In obscene abuse references are made to the secret parts. Abuse may refer to various social classes and professions. Son of the irreligious, slayer of one's guru, slayer of cows, disrespectful to gods and Brahmans, son of the un-initiated; cow-slaying businessman, son of a slave; owl-faced, owl-nosed, son of a dog; carrier of his wife's skirt, wearer of a skirt, etc. are some of the vivid terms used by the rural people. The author also quotes a *song of abuse* recorder by the author of this note.

The next chapter describes the types of houses usually found. The *nāmghar* or public prayer-hall may comprise several houses: a covered gate, the *chonghar* or store for keeping material for dramatic performances, the open prayer-hall, and the *maṇikūt* or house at its eastern end to keep the idol of Krishna and religious manuscripts and books. The maṇikūṭ sometimes preserves relics of earlier saints. The next two chapters deal with the dress and food habits of the people. At one time the puggree or a *gāmochā*-towel tied round on the head was a feature of Assamese dress. One peculiar dress item of women is the *rihā*, a short of breast cloth. There are many words to indicate types of rice and vegetables. The Assamese is often ridiculed as "*khār*-eating", because alkali is an important item in his diet and at one time used to take alkali as a substitute for salt. The next two chapters deal with the festivals and religious dances of the land. Some of the festivals are Hindu and Vaisnavite while the others, like the Bihu, are local. Many of the dances are tribal. The next two chapters deal with musical instruments and crafts. Many of the crafts depend on the use of bamboo and wood. The satra-monastery system, spinning and weaving, and domestic necessity have encouraged the development of various kinds of crafts. The author then gives an interesting chapter on village life and certain observations on the words and expressions that can be learnt from a study of the rural life of the land. The book ends with more than a hundred sketches and photographs covering such subjects as pottery and images, bamboo and wood work, weapons, fishing implements, dress items, designs on cloth, ornaments, house construction, musical instruments, village scenes, wild life. These pictures constitute a valuable and instructive part of the book.

Dr Barua's *Asamar Loka-saṁskṛiti,* thus, makes an attempt to give a comprehensive picture of Assamese life and may be said to be the only work of this kind in the language. It was in the fitness of things that the book could win the Sahitya Akademi award for Assamese, though after the departure of its author.

Jivanar Batat : The Story of a Society

By

BHABEN BARUA

Birinchi Kumar Barua's *Jīvanar Bāṭat* is a novel that never fails to captivate one, and possessing as it does an Elizabethan quality of comprehensiveness it has a remarkable degree of public availability. The local colour, humour and pathos in which it abounds easily appeal to the various categories of reading public ; but what generally eludes attention is the fine organization of all these ingredients into a moral centrality. Critics for whom plot is not a vision or an instrument of moral discovery fail to appreciate this deeper aspect of the novel and take the local colour as its key-note.

As in Premchand's 'Godan' there is in this novel a vital pre-occupation with the social reality ; but here the centre is dominated by an inward drama of individuals and the outer social problems serve mainly to underline the basic forces and values at conflict.

Like Manik Banerjee's *Padmānadīr-Mājhi* (The Boatman of the Padma) it catches in its major part with a colloquial verve the tang of the soil ; but instead of the poetic and almost anarchic vision implicit in that novel it shows a more normative view of life. Like Bibhutibhuson Banerjee's *Pather Pānchāli* it abounds in local colour ; but here we find the world in a broad daylight rather than in the visionnary gleams of childhood. Yet both these novels, as their titles indicate ("The Song of the Road," "On the Highway of life"), have a tone of simplicity that seems to derive from a deep awareness of the native spirit of the society. The first part of Bhibhutibhusan's novel is entitled "Ballāli Balāi", and this securely places the story in the context of a society where the ghost of King Ballal Sen of history is, as it were, still roaming. Likewise, the first part of *Jīvanar Bāṭat* is prefixed with a few lines of anonymous folk poetry, tender and delicate, bearing the anonymous spirit of the past but at the same time striking the keynote of the basic theme of the novel :

The beak of the moorhen is red,
Where a pinch of pigment is longwise laid ;
O my father, my father,
Do not send me far.

This translation, of course lacks the intensity and the earthy quality of the original. The "red beak" is symbolic of all the passion and imagination that surged in the heroine; and "the pinch of pigment longwise laid" is the image of the happy bride, her head showing the long vermilion line. Moreover, the word here translated as 'send' means also "to give in marriage." The moorhen is *Kamcharāi*.

These lines become the more poignant in the context of her story, as she had to go away 'far',—far from her beloved who betrayed her, and far from her father who through a misunderstanding severed all connections with her for ever.

The first part of the novel, moreover, establishes the context of a social process; and the values the novel reveals and by which human conduct has been judged are the crystallisation of a spirit of humane understanding that had percolated into the society through the ages and was quickned by the spread of the Vaisnava religion. These values have nothing of the doctrinaire about them : they pivot round the simple truth of the sanctity of the heart. It was to the novelist's advantage that the spirit of the society on which he had his focus was almost at one with these moral values, and catching the former was equal to securing the latter. As a result, Tagar, the heroine of the novel, is a concrete embodiment of all that was best and purest in the Assamese society, and she becomes the moral criterion with which to judge others' moral aberrations and shallowness of understanding. The novelist placed his story at such a point of social process where he could have a grip on a palpable moral order, and he did not have to provide a counterpoint of individual vision of order to a canvas of moral inadequacy.

It needs stressing that the moral vision in the novel never becomes obtrusive. It is implicit, not obvious and may even escape the scrutiny of those readers who can recognise a vision only in the form of definite philosophization and for whom an ideal novel is one containing a beautiful story enlivened by vivid characters and an vivid environment and given a 'philosophic' core by elements other than the concrete. Instead of what Keats called a "design upon our feelings" we find a vibrantly living character. But this confrontation is a confrontation with certain basic issues of life realized in terms of a human character in the context of a particular time and place.

Once the rôle of the central character is properly understood, all other characters in the novel are seen to have two functions: (i) they collectively build up the world of the novel, (ii) they provide images of the various gradations of emotional and moral depth. Tagar is, as it were, the society's sheet-anchor moored to which are all the values that sustain its moral life. Kamalākānta, who commits himself to her love but lured by a prospect of material advantage and dazzled at the glamour of aristocracy forsakes her, provides the instance of a superficiality and slickness that his brilliant results at University examinations make all the more vicious. Suprabhā, who becomes his wife, is an example of a skin-deep sophistication, and to her the glamour of the tinsel is paramount. Her recitals of Rabīndrasangīt, while contributing to the basic theme, underscore her quality as a human being with an ironic line.

Dharanī, who marries Tagor, is the average good man ; and, when circumstances arise, he jumps into the Freedom Movement. As he is made the participant in a drama of social resurgence and the spectator of certain evil tendencies in the society, we get a moral focus on the spirit of the times. The Doctor, like Dharanī and unlike Kamalākānta and the Rāi Bāhādur represents the positive moral current of the society : but unlike Dharanī he is placed mostly on the social plane. Sunad, an uncle and a neighbour of Dharanī, follows a precept completely opposite to "Love thy neighbours as thyself" : and his guile and cunning under the veneer of a spirit of the good Samaritan are thrown into broad relief by his son—Manohar's Adam Bedean bluntness and childlike innocence verging on the comic. Manohar is a moral force that seems to be perpetually on the point of queering the pitches of his father's deep design, but his comic aspect gives him his proper 'placing'. He lacks something, a dimension that we find in Tagar. It is a measure of the solid strength of her character that being not only morally straight like Manohar but also emotionally deep unlike him, she defies any reduction to the comic focus. Āhinī, that irascible old woman who becomes Tagar's mother-in-law, is the proverbial Indian mother-in-laws's image, whose eternal sharp-tongued harangues lack the substance of deep malice ; and a grand-child and a sickbed bring a mellowness to her character. She is that type of woman whose faibles, although they seem to have explosive possibilities, have nothing of the evil about them. The calm dignity and inner poise of Tagore show up her inadequacy, but it is an inadequacy that is a-moral at the most.

These characters that along with a horde of others make up the world of the novel and illuminate the different facets of reality exist at a particular stage of the society, and the colour and shape they assume derive primarily from it. Along with the thematic progress there is an exploration into the spirit of the place and the times, and the result is the building up of a background to the central theme and an underlining of the basic forces controlling the inner action. It is as if a river is flowing down, and to judge its course properly, the whole topography and all the tributaries are brought into the focus. Consequently, the novel is composed of two circles ; an inner individual circle and an outer social circle. The outer circle is a picture of the society certain dominant tendencies of which shape the action of inner circle in which Tagar holds the central position. The urge for the Freedom Movement, a sense of community life ; spirit of social service (as shown by Dharanī and the Doctor) ; the mild, humane tone of a socially oriented rural upper class with roots in the past (the Marangi Mauzādār's family) ;—all these are placed against the Rāi Bāhādur's aristocracy, not supported by any traditional social values and thriving on illicit business deals; a tendency of vicious commercial enterprise (the opium-shop); the individualistic beaurocrat's drafting of schemes designed for personal benefit but inimical to the society (Kamalākānta's scheme for releasing a grazing Reserve for the immigrants); the restless attempts at rising up the social ladder as shown by the family of Kamalākānta from the days of his grandfather onwards; a tendency of scanda-mongering and promotion-hunting as exemplified by the Sub-Inspector of Police, etc.

When one comes to appreciate the basic character of the novel, even that apparently incidental story of an elephant 'māhut', a confirmed opium-addict who, shocked at the way a young boy picketing before the opium-shop is treated by the police, resolves not to take opium any more, and as a result, accepts death through terrible physical sufferings,—seems to be deeply meaningful. The gruesome details of his physical state in death ("a resinous liquid and foam profusely streaming out through the corners of his mouth; groups of ants making inroads into his eye-sockets and nose-holes; flies buzzing on his crease-lined skin as on a basket of rotten fishes; a few cock-roaches feeling the stickly odius smell with their long antennae and running to and on the floor of the room, ...") become, at it were, a symbol of the death-defying grim resolve of the positive elements of the society to resist the social evils. This heroic gesture in such a common men as the māhut was not something unreal in the days of the Freedom Movement, and it is but a revolutionary expression on the social plane of the moral spirit of which Tagar's character is the quintessence.

The episode of the rape coldly designed and committed on a village woman is, on the other hand, an image of the evil tendency. The character of the 'procurer' whose material progress is in exact ratio to his gradual veering away from the social values is a type sharply defined, and which was to appear later at its fullest during the period of the Second World War:

> In the faint light of the moon Dharanī saw the face, but not distinctly; Yet he recognized the man. It was Sonārām, the son of Bhebalā of Dighalradi. He had during the period of the last Settlement become a mandal (a land-surveyor). He was earning some extra money in his survey work conducted in the villages of the immigrants from the Mymensing district. He had newly built his house in the village,—the roof was made of C.I. sheets and not with straw. In the nights a hurricane lamp was lit in his house; he had bought more than one bicycle. The dhoti had come across the knees; he were a silk shirt, and shoes; he had even learnt to make up his hair after the 'Albert cut'.

This is the type likely to be the procurer. Fittingly, it is seen in the eerie light of the night. Its essence lies wholly in the C.I. Sheets, the hurricane lamp, the bicycles, the silk shirts and the 'Albert cut', and besides these 'things' it does not possess anything. Like the Summoner's and Pardoner's in Chaucer's The *Prologue*, this land-surveyor's moral character has been sharply defined with these apparently casual details.

As the central character in the novel shows the other characters in a proper perspective, so the central theme of the novel is connected by these images of positive and negative social tendencies with the society as a whole ; and in consequence, the inner and the outer circles illuminate each other. *Jīvanar Bāṭat* thus becomes the story of a society, and the basic theme becomes a quintessence of the general issues transferred to the inner theatre of individuals. Reading the novel intelligently is to get the impression that the whole of the Assamese society at a particular point of its growth has been crammed into its confines : that is, not only those aspects vividly caught in the pictorial images but also its deeper tendencies as they were to make themselves felt in the individual and social planes. That is why, its pictorial element or local colour, whatever it is, has a resonance that is beyond the scope of the naturalistic embodiment of reality. Perhaps "Realism" as defined by Georg Lucàcs in his *Studies in European Realism* is the apt term for the true character of this novel where the inner is intermixed with the outer and the whole has a resonance beyond the aggregate of the parts.

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The story of the novel, in an outline, is as follows :

Ayoung man name Kamalākānta comes to Marangi to attend the marriage-ceremony of his friend Krishnadatta's sister. Krishnadatta's father is the Mauzādār or Revenue-collector of the region,—a position he hereditarily holds. There Kamalākānta meets a young girl, Tagar, with whose parents the Mauzādār's family is in intimate terms. His heart is swayed by love for the girl ; and one day when they are alone Kamalākānta forces a ring on her finger. Her response is a few words, precise and prophetic : "Why have you brought ruin on me ?"

But Kamalākānta assures her : "Today's incident is not an act of my violent youth's madness. You can believe me ;" What strikes him most is the "deep self-respect" of such a common girl and it induces in him a reverential attitude towards her.

Kamalākānta in due time passes his University examination with brilliant results, and on the advice of his well-wishers fills up a form for the Civil Service Examination. In that connection he meets Rāi Bāhādur Mānik Hāzarikā who has a hold on the affairs. When duly selected, Kamalākānta is offered the hand of his daughter Suprabhā. Kamalākānta, possessed with an urge for rising up the social ladder and dazzled at the brilliance of the aristocracy, favourably responds, defying his committment already strengthened further by an agreement between his family and that of Tagar. How alluring and tantalizing for him is this offered object of the aristocracy is revealed in the description of his first entry into it :

> Transmitting the remains of an ordour of foreign scents, Suprabhā disappered in a slanting posture of her body. Under the curtain in the doorway Kamalākānta's tame eyes followed her receding feet like the mice of Hamelin. While she was walking away leaning on one side with the weight placed on the toes, her champa-coloured silk mekhelā got upraised a bit uncovering her heels. With hungry eyes Kamalākānta kept looking at the intense beauty of the clean and grape-coloured heels.

Kamalākānta disappears from the scene for a long time and he re-enters only in the last part of the novel. But the moral torpor he represents makes itself felt all along in its different shades. The image of the Rāi Bāhādur is in the following lines : "As the spider remaining in a centre throws out filament after filament, Mr. Hāzarikā remaining in the centre of Excise began to spin out a network of various business enterprizes.—Like a fully-rigged boat on the waves, Mānik Maharī floating on the sea of life."

Dharanī, a weaving teacher, comes to Marangi to teach the women-folk of the region the developed techniques of weaving ; and in that connection, he pays several visits at Bāpurām Barā's house, and meets Barā's daughter, Tagar. One day Barā comes home, stunned by a letter received from Kamalākānta's father cancelling the marriage and he happens upon what to him seems to be a shocking scene. While he is teaching Tagar how to weave a particular design on the loom, Dharanī's head accidentally touches Tagar's body. Suspecting that they are in love and and shocked at the impudence of the girl in the face of the marriage agreement, Barā takes a drastic step. His anger at Kamalākānta's behaviour cools down. He taxes Dharanī with almost the same question as that of Tagar : "Why have you brought ruin on me ?"—In spite of Dharanī's pleadings to the contrary, Barā remains firm in his conviction. Consequently a marriage agreement is effected. Tagar never comes to know that it is not her father but Kamalākānta himself who is mainly responsible for the disastrous turn the events take. The girl, of course, in the social circumstances, has no alternative and she follows the rigorous command of the father. But his shock at the supposed immorality of his daughter never passes off and after the marriage he severes all connection with her. Tagar in fact is 'sent' far away from his heart. With Dharanī Tagar comes to Rahā, the native place of Dharanī. Tagar finds a sharp-tongued mother-in-law in Āhinī, who from the very beginning seems bent on offering continual challenges to this girl, who is supposed to have "stolen away" his son from her. Tagar calmly bears all the perpetual haranguing of her mother-in-law and the malicious and biting words which some village women bandy about concerning a supposed "past" of hers. But gradually Tagar wins them over with her amiability and forbearance. In spite of the petty jealousies and foul and wounding words the village folk seems to be held together by a sense of community life. When a new bride comes to the village, all the folk seem to be astir with expectation and merriment. This sense of communal harmony shows itself at its most poignant when some one is lying in the sickbed or is suffering the pains of conception. Even a man like Sunad is bound to the community life. Just when death is approaching on Āhinī, towards whom he has been all guile and mischief throughout, Sunad recites for her the religious story of Ājāmil, of his uttering of the word "Nārāyana" on the point of his death and his consequent absolution from the sins committed in his life-time. This incident is ironical and, at the same time, in tune with a spirit of humane understanding that is deeper than the ironical. "Raising his eyes from the sacred book Sunad is shouting "Nārāyana" "Nārāyana" ; Āhinī responds with a trembling of the lips". Sunad, it seems, like Ajamil has been forgiven.

During Āhinī's life-time a female child is born to Tagar, and consequently her attitude towards the daughter-in-law softens to a great extent.

Dharani, at one point of the story, finds the panorama of a great social movement too stirring to resist. He joins the Freedom Movement and plunges headlong into social service. Through his eyes we look at the drama of good and civil on the social plane : but at his home, in the innermost recesses of his wife's heart another drama, individual in tone, is taking shape. The latter, for the most part moves along like an underground river showing itself only at focal points. One of these points we find in the third chapter of the novel : it is a dream, and it will be reproduced later on in a different context.

Another is the following passage from the second chapter :

> At times, Tagar would remember her father's cruel treatment to her ; and all alone, she would shed tears. Knowing fully well her character and ideals, her father had disbelieved her most cruelly. He had fixed up the marriage overnight ignoring Tagar's inner sufferings and without making proper enquiry to get at the truth, only because he had wanted to retain his prestige in the society. For the sake of his good name and frightened of nasty rumours he had sacrificed his paternal love for his child. With a sense of pride and pain Tagar would try to delete from her mind her father's image.
>
> Tagar tried her utmost to forget the past. But the thing one tries to forget comes out in all the dreams and walkings. Borne on the waves of memory, the trifle incidents of the past would take on an extra-ordinary colour ; and the common episodes of the past would turn uncommon. However hard she had been trying to run away from the golden moment of her life, it appeared to her eyes more grand and alluring like the top of a temple seen from a distance. The mind of the loyal wife would fly away from her husband lying in bed to a distant country. Sweet dreams would centre round someone else. In the next moment she would turn in her bed and get frightened, mutter out lines of sacred verse for her heart's purification. The hot air of her sighs touching his body, Dharanī would wake up. He would carefully gather into his bosom her soft body, lying supple in sleep. His heart was full of unbounded love for his wife ; Tagar too loved him with her whole being. In the innermost recesses of her heart

> there were respect and admiration for her husband. Yet at times, she would feel as if something had been missing, as if a raven had snatched away a part of the hearts offerings before they were placed at the altar.

While Dharanī's mind allies itself to the outer sphere of reality, the movement of Tagar's mind is basically inward. This is almost symbolic of the gulf there is between the two. Attuned to the outer reality Dharanī s mind never makes the discovery of an inadequacy in her relations with him. Although she inwardly writhes under mental sufferings, she has an outward composure and a serene capacity for endurance ; and consequently, morbidity and sentimentality are miles away from her drama. To her there is a sancitity in love : but her love for her husband has been defiled by "a raven". Hers is almost a religious attitude towards conjugal relation and it primarily derives from the moral values of the society. Although the 'illicit' appears grand and alluring, still its lure is like that of the golden top of a "temple."

At a particular point of the story, Tagar is brought onto the outside world. The police, unable to find Dharanī, who has been deeply connected with the Freedom Movement, brings her to the police station in the hope that this measure will compel the absconder to come out. The police achieves its end : but on a deeper level of significance, this episode reveals an instance of the spirit of communal harmony (all the village people come out in protest against the way a woman of the village has been treated by the police) ; and at the same time, momentarily places Tagar on the outer plane pinpointing the relation the two planes of reality bear to each other. (Of course, it is in the concluding part that this relation shows itself at its illuminating best : a police enquiry leading to an 'inner' moral discovery for Kamalākānta).

Dharanī is thrown into jail. By the time he comes back, his health has deteriorated to a great extent. With infinite care and affection Tagar nurses him and thus tries to compensate for the inadequacy she feels in her love. A doctor named Golāp Hāzarikā, who has been embued with a humanitarian zeal for social service, comes into the scene. His tough practical sense, his very commonness, lack of any oratorial tendency, and his growing friendship with the little girl, Kamalī,—all make him a fascinating human being, and he does not become a highly-strung idealistic character.

He takes Dharanī as his patient. But all his efforts fail and ultimately Dharanī dies. Now Tagar is almost alone ; her husband gone, her mother-in-law long since dead. Her only consolation is in her little girl Kamalī through whom we encounter an order of experience other than the adults' and who provides a happy counter-point to the basic note of pathos. But Tagar cannot afford the luxury of melancholia, because the problem of securing a livelihood becomes much pressing : "Where the shameless problem of feeding stomachs is paramount, the shedding of tears is a mere luxury." Consequently, when she finds that she can eke out her living by working at the women's weaving club, and as her husband had been for a long time associated with the kind of work done at the club, she joins it. The doctor, Hāzarikā, is a patron and the chairman of the club. He is a bachelor and his contacts with a widow like Tagar give rise in certain quarters to speculations on a possible "romance". That, in fact, there is not the ghost of romance in their relations demonstrates the kind of misreading of reality perpetrated by those whose vision is depraved and who feed their souls on the substance of scandal and gossip. To the Sub-Inspector of the Police the Doctor's urge for social service is suspect. Enamoured of the prospect of uncovering a "sensational case" of politics and romance intermixed, and with the conviction that "if the case is proved true, he is sure to be promoted to the post of a C.I.D.", he looks at the affairs from the wrong angle. Kamalākānta has been recently posted as the Sub-Deputy Collector at Rahā, where Tagar has been living since her marriage. Because of his wife's "sophisticated" interest in weaving, Kamalākānta comes into contact with the weaving club ; but he does not suspect that Tagar is in that place and is a member of the club. Tagar comes to the house of the new S.D.C., to instruct his wife on weaving ; but she does not come into the view of Kamalākānta, nor does she herself know till late that the new S.D.C. is Kamalākānta. One day an amount of forty rupees and two finger rings have been found missing in Kamalākānta's house. Taking Tagar's poverty and her visits to the S.D.C.'s house as pointers in the right direction, and armoured with the information that one day the cook of Kamalākānta saw her near the office-box, the police makes a search in her house.

This search is the result of the Sub-Inspector's way of looking at the things. Its "plausibility" is to be judged in terms of his vision and not in terms of any other human beings' vision, inside or outside the novel ; and it is firmly grounded on the concrete realization of his character.

As a result of the search, a finger ring, with the initial of Kamalākānta inscribed on it, is found and it is in small box bearing the initials of the Doctor. The box was presented as a gift by the Doctor to Tagar's little daughter Kamalī, with whom he struck up a friendship. But the prima facie evidence of the box in Tagar's possession gives rise in the S.I.'s mind to the idea that he has put his finger on a sensational case. He comes to Kamalākānta's house, and in elation at his supposed discovery, reels off his ex-cathedra statements on 'evil'.

> The good aspect of man lies all visible like the objects in art-exhibition. It easily catches one's eyes. But what is evil remains concealed by walls and comouflages ; to see it, one needs sight, intelligence and diligence.

But what, in fact, he sees is the outward, not the inward aspect : the box bearing the initials of the Doctor, not the secret lying in the ring of Kamalākānta which is inside the box. This box encasing the ring is a symbol of the whole situation. People who live on the surface, take the surface as the truth, and they are unable to gauge reality depthwise. The whole of the concluding part of the novel becomes a compact embodiment of the two spheres of reality. Here both the individual and the social, the inner and the outer planes of reality converge on a focal point. The long conversation between the S.I. and Kamalākānta before the box containing the ring is handed over to the latter for verification is characterized by another dual aspect that appears again a few moments later in Suprabhā becoming a kind of 'persona' or mask for Tagar's inner voice. Many of the words uttered by the police officer has a double meaning, and the true meaning in the context of the novel is the one which he does not know :

> "Where there is a woman, there even a simple affair will become all complex."
>
> or,
>
> "The muddy aspect of the mind covered by outward shows is not visible to people like you."
>
> or,
>
> "What mysteries this theft-case will not reveal !"

His fascination for 'sensationalism', his craze for "a hand shake with the Superintendent of Police, the S.D.C.'s praise for the work, the lawyers' appreciation of his intelligence" and his vision of a blissful sequel to all these in the form of "promotion" adequately "place" him as a human being. His "literary" passion (he says that once one of his poems became popular "like film-songs" !), not unexpectedly, is combined with an urge for discovering 'romance'.

> "I would like to keep silence on how these 'weaving' women are earning money. But at the least, the whole thing provides good opportunities for the political volunteers to have their tongues' fun with the young women of the villages."

and

> "I had to leave my college career and entered the service. Along with that my 'literary' activities came to an end. Even now I feel like writing poetry if I get time. But there is no leisure."

Kamalākānta's initial reaction to the box is too undercut by the line of irony. When his eyes fall on the Doctor's initials inscribed on the box he takes in his hand, he feels as if he has put his palms on a slug. Initially, his moral revulsion is against others ; but in a few moments, it is to turn against himself. He is going to make a discovery from which he has been running away all these years. The finger-ring which he once forced on a girl has come back to him bearing, as it were, a judgment on him. What at first seems to be a police case existing on the outward plane of reality becomes interlinked with the central theme of the novel : the relationship between a man and a woman and its moral significance. A sanctity Kamalākānta defiled ; and now he is to stand before a judgment.

Kamalākānta goes indoors with the box, still unopened, to show the ring to Suprabhā. But she is in the bathroom and is singing a Rabīndra-sangīt in a humming tune. This is in character, for she has the 'sophistication' of aristocracy, and Tagore's songs are a part of the cultural paraphernalia of the world to which she belongs. But the realistic touch that "along with the scent of cuticura soap the sweet humming tune of Rabīndra-sangīt was coming out from the bathroom"—securely keeps the whole thing fixed on earth, and quite unobtrusively and innocently throws the hint that the human quality of the singer is more in conformity with the scent of the soap than with the spirit of the song.

"Like a great pain you are ringing in my heart ;
only the mind knows how it feels secretly. ...
What has happened is for the whole of this life,
Mind and heart go floating drawn by death's pull."

The words of the song have thematic relevance and its spirit is in tune with Tagar's inner drama. All these years Kamalākānta has been "ringing like a great pain in Tagar's heart". In these significant moments Suprabhā becomes a kind of mask through which Tagar is speaking. It is the spirit of Tagar which Kamalākānta is going to encounter. But before appearing all naked it appears with a mask on, so that no impression of abruptness or of a jolt is created. It is proper that Kamalākānta leaves the S.I., and goes indoors. Only when alone, he may be able to realise the inner quality of the basic drama. He has to remain listening for a few moments to the song, its spirit working on his mind and preparing him for the final moment of his self-discovery at its most terrifying.

> "The mournful tune of the song lent a note of pathos to the evening sky. Kamalākānta stood still for a few moments, listening to the song. After that, he carefully opened the box, and took out the ring. His name was inscribed on it. But when had Suprabhā ordered for it ? It was of a completely old design........................ .... Kamalākānta saw everything around him becoming all hazy. That ring of his golden youth that once bore his good wishes had now come back to him in the form of a curse and soiled with many sorrows and oppressions and humiliations of life. The box and the ring swiftly slipped down from his hand. His head caught a sensation of reeling round and round along with the ring rolling down on the ground. Like an epileptic patient all shaky, he clutched at a chair close at hand and sat down on it. His face became white-pale like a dead body placed on the dissection table. A horde of memories started a dance macabre in his mind, already numbed into passivity." (Concluded).

The three similes ('epileptic patient', 'dead body', 'dane macabre") occurring in the three consecutive final sentences are like three hammer-strokes, the second louder than the first, the third loudest of all. In such a context the word "curse" occurring in a few lines ahead takes on its more terrifying aspect : a divine vengeance. It is as if its instruments were coming under a coverage, like the soldiers bearing "the Birnam Wood". A voice was coming through a mask, by its deceptive "sweetness" gradually opening the door to conscience. Following it, a ring was coming hidden in a box. This ring is the more terrifying by its lack of any human quality, of a voice, of any "sweet humming tune". Now it is there revealing an aspect covered by "the walls and comouflages." Kamalākānta is sitting indoors, the walls separating him from the S.I.

The line—"What has happened is for the whole of this life"—signifies in the context of the novel that there is no "compensation" for the tragic waste involved. The moral forces, in fact, suffer disasters (the elephant māhut's horrifying state in death, the rape committed on a helpless woman by a rake, the inner tragic devastation in Tagar's life). But this is not the only truth. There should be a judgment vindicating the inner validity of the moral force. It is in this context that the 'accident' of the theft is to be considered. First, it is necessary for the moral judgment. Secondly, by its very "unpredictability" and releasing a development leading to the finale, it seems to vindicate an impersonal, non-human order on which man has no control and from which the moral force draws its sustenance. Hence the function of the accident is evaluative, and not one of heightening the tragic note. The search in Tagar's house following the theft does not augment her "real" tragedy : anybody who thinks so simply misreads the whole novel. This tragedy does not lie in her economic troubles and social humiliations. The two lines from folk poetry prefixing the Fourth Chapter tell precisely : "Whom shall I tell of my sufferings ; only my soul and body know". One line occurring in the song is "Only the mind knows how it feels secretly." All this pinpoint her real tragedy.

Although it widely differs in technique and substance from Chekhov's tragedies, *Jīvanar Bāṭat* shows a tragic note basically subdued like theirs. It is not highly strung, it is not allowed to sound loud all through.

As in *The Three Years* we find in this novel things happening and happening, outwardly all common : only secretly a great pain is ringing all along. Perhaps the very commonness of the texture of the Assamese society is one of the reasons behind it. Lacking the seething panoroma of great city life and the legacy of a strong feudalism in the form of sharply defined social divisions, the Assamese society differs from the Bengali to a great extent.

Moreover, Tagar's tragedy is a common woman's tragedy ; and she is essentially a common woman, although possessing in her all that is best and purest in her society. Mario Praz's words "the hero in eclipse" may be applied in this context with a slight modification as "the heroine in eclipse". The raging passions and violence of an exceptionally uncommon woman like Catherine in *Wuthering Heights,* or the gradual growth to heroic proportions of a socially isolated character like Hester Prynne's in *The Scarlet Letter*—these are things not to be found in her. Rooted to the society and accepting the basically normative social view, Tagar appears as a wife, a mother, a daughter-in-law, nursing a sick husband or a sick mother-in-law. It is her human commonness which is more often to the outward view than her "tragedy". The nine tenths of the iceberg lie invisible. Not being an instrument like Hester Prynne with which to judge or challenge the society's basic assumptions, she is on the other hand, the strong-hold of the society's moral values. Here is not the tragedy that results from human weakness, earthy materials being sublimated into precious qualities in the process. Nor is she a purely romantic girl like Hetty Sorrel in *Adam Bede*. The moment she offers her heart to one, she realizes the deep significance of the act : "In no moment the solemnity of age brought down a thick veil accross the face of that care-free young girl Tagar." And in her married life she feels strongly about her father because "Knowing fully well her character and ideals of education, her father disbelieved her most cruelly." These "ideals of education" she found in the society and they are its moral heritage. These taught her that human love is not something that can be written off or bartered away for material convenience. These taught her also to be a loyal daughter and a good wife. Defying her father's command with an Ibsenian heroism would have been something anarchronistic in the time and place to which she belongs. But as a wife she finds in her a tension between these ideals and her inner experience. This tension does not result in violent explosions for the weight of these ideals, the traditional social view is too dominant. Unlike Bimalā off the dykes. Yet she feels the tension : an inadequacy in her as a wife, : in Tagar's *Ghare Bāire* she is not a symbol of the Indian woman's breaking an inadequacy not discovered by anybody coming into her contact, not even by her husband. It is by virtue of her emotional depth that she realises the significance of the offering of her heart and this inadequacy in her wedded life. "Like a great pain you are ringing in my heart" : that is why, when after a long time (towards the close of the novel) she happens to see Kamalākānta for a moment, "Her face turned blue like a man bitten by a snake," and "those pages of the book of her life that had been lying closed were scattered open by the sudden storm". Outwardly, she has been all the time following the letter of her ideals, the tension between it and the spirit lying all inward. Nobody in her world has discovered it and her emotional depth : a father has discovered a romance with the weaving teacher, the S.I. of Police has discovered a romance with the Doctor. And skin-deep readers, failing to gauze the deeper significance of the dominance of the social aspect, may discover another romance, and fail to discover this tension. But it is there. And "a raven snatching away a part of heart's offerings" ; a snake making after her, she running away all naked ; 'the snake bite' 'the storm',—all these underline the inward tragedy of her life.

But the "snake bite" and "the storm" in her making the ideals look all shaky are followed by an vindiaction of their inner strength. "epileptic patient", "dead body", "dance macabre"—these indicate the final verdict passed on the agencies of their disaster.

It is the writer's ability to organize manifold categories of experience into an intensely significant whole that gives the novel its organic depth. But what Henry James called the 'Jenus-face' of reality finds its most significant embodiment in the conclusion. Besides the convergence of the social and the individual planes of reality on a focal point, there is an intense exploration into appearance and reality. A sensationalist's apparent discovery of 'a nasty romance' becoming an instrument for a moral discovery, and his words possessing a core of reality he does not recognize; a ring, bearing a tale of guilt, and hidden in a box, all 'innocent' but outwardly suspect; the two women in Kamalākānta's life coming together in the penultimate moment, (the scent of the soap representing one, the spirit of the song representing the other) : that is, Suprabhā becoming a mask for Tagar's inner voice,—all these riches are there in the brief ending chapter containg only ten pages.

Two passages from the novel may be reproduced in order to focus two basic features of the whole. One would reveal the deeply inward character of the central drama; the other would pinpoint the qualities reality takes on in the body of the novel.

> (1) "From the evening onwards, a wild unrestrainable longing for her husband had been intoxicating Tagar. She had been thinking all the time how to offer him the long-standing arrears of love and affection. Tagar came to the bed of her husband to spend the night listening to a tale of his unbounded love. But Dharanī's cruel sleep mocked at her heart's surging passions. Her mind turned poisoned with enmity and disgust at the heartless man lying still like a block of wood. In shame and humiliation she lay down at the feet of her husband like a tortoise, her hands and feet clumsily bagged together. In spite of her efforts to restrain herself, hot tears flowed down wetting the bedcloth.
>
> With the shadow of a sleep overcoming her, many pictures, known and unknown, meaningless and disjointed, began to file through her mind. She saw a narrow lane leading through a dense, desolate forest. There she was walking along, without any companion. Like frightening giants, the tall trees were shadowing everything around; and the branches and leaves of one tree tightly interlocking with those of another, were making a canopy of darkness overhead. The bamboos in a dense bamboo-grove jostled with each other, and with their cracking sounds produced tremors in the heart and made the stillness of the forest terrifying in tone. The footsteps falling on the dry bamboo leaves on the ground set the whole body subtly vibrating with their uncanny sounds. Overcome with fear, Tagar looked backwards. It was a sound of something moving in the dry leaves. In no moment, emerging out of the bamboo leaves, something gave out a glittering flash. A snake; Its head upheld, it was making for her with a soft

> whizzing sound. Frightened to death, Tagar tried to shout but could not open her mouth. Her throat became dry in thirst. She tried to run as fast as she could. The cloth covering the lower portion of her body got tangled and she fell down on the ground, stumbling. Finding no alternative, she released the cloth from her body; and all naked, she started running for her life. She did not know where she arrived thus running away. .... After a long time, Tagar lay down to sleep at the feet of a dry tree-stock. A young man sitting beside her began to look at her face. It seemed she knew his face, but could not place it. Who it was? Kamalākānta!
>
> Dharani's feet getting into her bosom had loosened her clothes from the waist; fixing them in position, she recited in the daze of sleep: "śrīdharaṁ priyasaṅgame, saṅkaṭe madhusūdanaṁ, duḥsvapne smara govindam, sarvakāryesu mādhavam."
> (In love's union, remember Srīdhara; in danger, Madhusūdana; in night-mare, Govinda; in all works, remember Mādhava.)
> While his feet were being released, Dharanī made a muttering sound. Tagar in sleep reverently touched his feet."

Although Tagar never utters a word about her inner sufferings, yet their reality is not to be questioned. In the major part of the novel what we find is a character in the common work-a-day sphere of life. But through an understanding of the basic quality of this character thus realized, we become aware of what would be its inner reaction to the defilement of the sanctity of heart. For Tagar, the value of life is defined by certain "ideals of education" : and her attitude towards life is fundamentally one of reverence.

The periods of revelation of her inner tragedy to us are few and brief; and it is made in terms of images and symbols. In the passage quoted earlier, "The top of a temple", "a raven", "offerings", "altar"—these words reveal the intensely serious quality of the inward drama. In the passage quoted above, it is through a shadowy and subtle order of reality that appears which cannot reveal itself in any other terms. Here too a fundamentally reverant attitude towards life combined with an almost religious note appears as in the other passage. It is to be noted that the Vaisnava Saint of Assam, Sankaradeva, who may be said to have formulated "the ideals of education" of the Assamese society, conceived of the world of desires as "a dense forest" :

"In this world's dense forest,
Encircled by the net of illusion,
A deer, I roam about;
The wolves and hounds of desires
come hurrying after me."

The "subconscious" that appears in the dream-sequence may well be "a dense forest"; yet the key-note of the passage is a super-natural 'fear'. And it is a fear of lust : lust in the guise of a snake was hurrying after Tagar, and she became all naked while running away. "To make naked" is a term of abuse, obscene and humiliating (The Folk-culture of Assam : Dr B. K. Barua). To the folk-mind of Assam, "making naked" is not only obscene but also an injury or harm. The snake, at the end, appears to be Kamalākānta : and Tagar is sleeping at the feet of "a dry tree-stock". Their love did not bore fruit ; the tree of love through exfoliation came to be a mere "dry tree-stock".

Through these images and symbols—"dense forest", "naked body", "a snake", "a dry tree-stock"—we come to realize the loaded quality of the inner drama. To secure herself from the heavy thrust of the inner experience, Tagar has to support herself with the weight of religion : "... ... In all works, remember Mādhava Mādhava."

Before getting down to sleep, "her mind turned poisoned with enmity and disgust at the cruel man lying still like a block of wood", and this secretly opened the sluice-gate to the turbulent waters of the subconscious. She encountered in the dream the reality of the inner experience. But at the end, she was frightened back to the strong-hold of tradition. Basically an Indian woman, to whom the husband is the supreme being, she "reverently touched his feet".

(2) "The waves of lamentation surged high,
All ran towards the place of pilgrimage,
Soul's friend had departed ...."

Singing a hymn of the soul's heaven-ward journey to the accompaniment of the khols and cymbals the villagers are moving along towards the graveyard. In front of the bier is a small girl bearing in her hand a torch lit on a pile of bamboo sticks. The mournful tune of the hymn borne across by the wind is more moving than the image of the rending cries before the eyes. When the bier has gone out of sight, Bhūsan comes out to the roadside, and asks the men going behind with axes and dāos.

: "Who is that man borne away?
: It is Dharanī Master."

Here the juxtaposition of the religious note in terms of the mournful hymn with that of the ordinary matter-of-fact reality in the form of a causal question of an onlooker illuminate each with the help of the other.

The gritty, stubborn facts of reality are not allowed to be submerged by a predominantly mystical or religious colour ; nor do they lack a dimension beside the completely quotidian. This is the fundamental tone of this novel.

An idea of the riches this novel contains may be gathered from the following outline.

(A) *The Archetypes of Life* :—Marriage ceremony (pages 2—7, 14—25) ; death as a graceful release from the mortal coils (198—204) ; death with all its horrors (143) ; harvesting and storing of the harvest (138—139, 140) ; religious activities (349—350) ; pregnancy and conception (208—

209); funeral ceremony (363); youthful love (26—37); conjugal love (336—344); conjugal unhappiness (277—386); moral revulsion (393—396); a village in the grip of fever (267—273); the heroic gestrue of the villagers' social unity, etc.

(B) *Nature's Panorama:* The harsh, stunning heat of the mid-day sun in Chaita (169—170); Spring, tender gay and colourful, provoking raptures in the human world in Baishakha (286—288); a beautiful moonlit night in Zaistha, people relaxing outdoors with fans in their hands (274—282); a rainy morning in Ashara, the ploughmen going to the fields (314); the seemingly unending damp weather of the Barsha, at long last the sun coming out and people getting busy with the arrears of work (336—337); Bhadra with the religious colour, the celebrations of the birth anniversary of the saint Sankaradeva (349—350), a night in Ashwina, the mist hovering over the green paddy-fields (223); the golden colour of the paddy-fields, people busy with the harvest during Agrahayana and Puha (130—139), the twilight of a dawn in Magha the dry straws covering the fields, all hazy in the mist, the pungent smell of the molasses being prepared in the villages intoxicating the air, wet with the mist (8—9), the solemn beauty of a forest seen through a child's eyes (356—357), etc.

(C) *The Pageantry of Society:* The old aristocracy (1—25), the new aristocracy (44—57), its sophistication in juxtaposition with the lower middle class's naivity (73—82), the domestic life of particular upper-class family (377—386); clerkdom (37—44), an aspect of the officialism (387—391, 346—350); the visit of a religious lord's wife to the village, and her ceremonious dignity (148), the hilariously comic spisode of the train journey of a simple-minded villager, Monohor who takes pity on the fellow passengers as they at the cost of their tickets fall asleep in the train (107—118), a panoramic view of the social change getting momentum (213—224); an opium-shop (225—237), a village shop (11), a dispensary in a rural area (296—305); the jubilation and the pranks of the village-children at the coming of a new bride (128—130); village women with water-jars on the river-bank, chattering and gossiping (134—138); a vaidya (211); an astrologer (293); activities in a village temple (349—350); a police-station (247); picketing by the Congress Volunteer's (225—247); etc.

(D) *The Poetic Essence:* lines from folk songs (152, 129), folk poetry (the introductory lines, 4, 5, 6); nursery rhyme (353—354); mantra (192); sloka (348); religious poetry (25, 75, 246, 200, 202); songs (Ravindra-Sangit : 82, 395); religious hymn (363),—

This catalogue is given only to give an impression of the rich texture and the breadth and range this novel displays. But through all this there works, something more important,—a vision of a moral significance.

Once Andre Gide said to Marlin due Gard that there are two types of writers in the world; one is represented by Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky represents the other; to the former du Gard belongs and Gide belongs to the latter. The former views reality in a straight linear progression; the latter views it in an angular focus.

The writer of *Jīvanar Bāṭat* belongs to the former group, and the almost fantas-magoric lights and shades we find in the novels of Dostoevsky, Emily Bronte, Hardy, Kafka and Faulkner are not the property of this novel. Here we do not find that kind of poetry which is born when the mind moves into the womb of reality and transforms it into its own patterns and colours. Here things stand more stubborn as in the world of George Eliot, and the pattern in which they are shown has the straight linear progression of a normative visit of reality. They are not violently jostled together to yield to view more than one-tenth of reality's iceberg. While in the world of Naturalism things remain mere things, in the world of Dostoevsky or Kafka things take on the shape and colour of the mind. But in the wolrd of George Eliot things without being wholly dominated by the mind, are seen to radiate a significance in commonly recognigible terms.

The thematically weakest part of the novel, as it has been recently pointed out in an article by Hiren Gohain, a deep reader of the novel and the first critic to have written on its "theme", is the one concerning Dharanī's illness and death. The impression we get is that the writer is trying to burden the inward tragedy of Togor with the extra-load of a different sort of sufferings, and is a bit too eager to have Dharanī off the scene. All this has an effect of blurring the focus to a certain extent for a time, and as a result, deprives this part of the intensity of thematic relevance we find in the others.

Dr Banikanta Kakati whose scholarship was enlivened by a positive capacity for appreciating the organic character of literary works, (and it is fully evidenced by his critique of Jyotiprasad Agarwalla's play *Sonit Konwari*), recognized the artistry implicit in the structure of this novel. He wrote after its publication in 1944.

"In point of artistry and local colour it is the only Assamese work of fiction that will bear translating into an International Language like English." It is not mainly its local colour, but the "artistry" it displays, the fine organization of the various ingredients including the local colour into a living whole that makes up its real worth.

The remaining part of Dr Kakati's comments may be quoted as it has a bearing on the role of the society in the novel. "Regarded as an index of the author's mind, the book reveals wide and intimate acquaintance with all phases and features of Assamese social life in their light and shade."

Jīvanar Bāṭat is unquestionably the finest creation in the whole range of Assamese literature, and along with a very few other Indian novels belong to that rare category in which embodiment of reality becomes a revelation of its inner tendencies: the weight of the tradition it bears and the pull of the future it registers.

209); funeral ceremony (363); youthful love (26—37); conjugal love (336—344); conjugal unhappiness (277—386); moral revulsion (393—396); a village in the grip of fever (267—273); the heroic gestrue of the villagers' social unity, etc.

(B) *Nature's Panorama:* The harsh, stunning heat of the mid-day sun in Chaita (169—170); Spring, tender gay and colourful, provoking raptures in the human world in Baishakha (286—288); a beautiful moonlit night in Zaistha, people relaxing outdoors with fans in their hands (274—282); a rainy morning in Ashara, the ploughmen going to the fields (314); the seemingly unending damp weather of the Barsha, at long last the sun coming out and people getting busy with the arrears of work (336—337); Bhadra with the religious colour, the celebrations of the birth anniversary of the saint Sankaradeva (349—350), a night in Ashwina, the mist hovering over the green paddy-fields (223); the golden colour of the paddy-fields, people busy with the harvest during Agrahayana and Puha (130—139), the twilight of a dawn in Magha the dry straws covering the fields, all hazy in the mist, the pungent smell of the molasses being prepared in the villages intoxicating the air, wet with the mist (8—9), the solemn beauty of a forest seen through a child's eyes (356—357), etc.

(C) *The Pageantry of Society:* The old aristocracy (1—25), the new aristocracy (44—57), its sophistication in juxtaposition with the lower middle class's naivity (73—82), the domestic life of particular upper-class family (377—386); clerkdom (37—44), an aspect of the officialism (387—391, 346—350); the visit of a religious lord's wife to the village, and her ceremonious dignity (148), the hilariously comic spisode of the train journey of a simple-minded villager, Monohor who takes pity on the fellow passengers as they at the cost of their tickets fall asleep in the train (107—118), a panoramic view of the social change getting momentum (213—224); an opium-shop (225—237), a village shop (11), a dispensary in a rural area (296—305); the jubilation and the pranks of the village-children at the coming of a new bride (128—130); village women with water-jars on the river-bank, chattering and gossiping (134—138); a vaidya (211); an astrologer (293); activities in a village temple (349—350); a police-station (247); picketing by the Congress Volunteer's (225—247); etc.

(D) *The Poetic Essence:* lines from folk songs (152, 129), folk poetry (the introductory lines, 4, 5, 6); nursery rhyme (353—354); mantra (192); sloka (348); religious poetry (25, 75, 246, 200, 202); songs (Ravindra-Sangit : 82, 395); religious hymn (363),—

This catalogue is given only to give an impression of the rich texture and the breadth and range this novel displays. But through all this there works, something more important,—a vision of a moral significance.

Once Andre Gide said to Marlin due Gard that there are two types of writers in the world; one is represented by Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky represents the other; to the former du Gard belongs and Gide belongs to the latter. The former views reality in a straight linear progression; the latter views it in an angular focus.

The writer of *Jīvanar Bāṭat* belongs to the former group, and the almost fantas-magoric lights and shades we find in the novels of Dostoevsky, Emily Bronte, Hardy, Kafka and Faulkner are not the property of this novel. Here we do not find that kind of poetry which is born when the mind moves into the womb of reality and transforms it into its own patterns and colours. Here things stand more stubborn as in the world of George Eliot, and the pattern in which they are shown has the straight linear progression of a normative visit of reality. They are not violently jostled together to yield to view more than one-tenth of reality's iceberg. While in the world of Naturalism things remain mere things, in the world of Dostoevsky or Kafka things take on the shape and colour of the mind. But in the wolrd of George Eliot things without being wholly dominated by the mind, are seen to radiate a significance in commonly recognigible terms.

The thematically weakest part of the novel, as it has been recently pointed out in an article by Hiren Gohain, a deep reader of the novel and the first critic to have written on its "theme", is the one concerning Dharanī's illness and death. The impression we get is that the writer is trying to burden the inward tragedy of Togor with the extra-load of a different sort of sufferings, and is a bit too eager to have Dharanī off the scene. All this has an effect of blurring the focus to a certain extent for a time, and as a result, deprives this part of the intensity of thematic relevance we find in the others.

Dr Banikanta Kakati whose scholarship was enlivened by a positive capacity for appreciating the organic character of literary works, (and it is fully evidenced by his critique of Jyotiprasad Agarwalla's play *Sonit Konwari*), recognized the artistry implicit in the structure of this novel. He wrote after its publication in 1944.

"In point of artistry and local colour it is the only Assamese work of fiction that will bear translating into an International Language like English." It is not mainly its local colour, but the "artistry" it displays, the fine organization of the various ingredients including the local colour into a living whole that makes up its real worth.

The remaining part of Dr Kakati's comments may be quoted as it has a bearing on the role of the society in the novel. "Regarded as an index of the author's mind, the book reveals wide and intimate acquaintance with all phases and features of Assamese social life in their light and shade."

Jīvanar Bāṭat is unquestionably the finest creation in the whole range of Assamese literature, and along with a very few other Indian novels belong to that rare category in which embodiment of reality becomes a revelation of its inner tendencies: the weight of the tradition it bears and the pull of the future it registers.

Basically, it is a study in a fundamental human theme in the context of Indian reality, shaped and coloured by a particular regional character. As to appreciate this novel requires an understanding of the basic features of that regional character, a brief outline of Assam's social and cultural history may be placed in this context.

The peasantry in *Jīvanar Bāṭat* is not the peasantry we find in *Godan*. The feudal structure of society that remained potent even in the British days in the other parts of India was not a feature of the Assamese society. The peasantry in Assam is positively better off than its counterparts in the other regions of India. Most of the peasants own lands, and consequently, the difference between the peasantry and those who have large hand-holdings is not, in social terms, a gulf, but degrees of gradation.

Moreover, the huge super-structure of the Brahmanical religion did not have to exert its crashing weight on Assam's social base. Consequently, the net-work of castes and sub-castes are not as large and gripping here as in the other parts of India. The religion that had the largest sweep over Assam is Vaishnavism as it was defined and preached by the fifteenth century saint Sankaradeva. It has little relation to the kind of mystical raptures we associate with the Vaisnavism of Bengal's Chaitanya and what it has is an almost Confucian rigour of emphasis on morality. The music and poetry that were produced under the impact of this religion have not the insousciance and gay abandon of Jaydeva's Gita Govindam or of the Vaisnava Padawalis: instead, they show an austerity of form and tone. Consequently, romanticism in Assamese literature is of recent growth dating to the days when the western influence first began to seep in. In Urdu literature and in Vidyāpati's poetry it had already emerged as a potent force long before the British rule. This Vaisnavism preached in Assam had a democratic bias which has remained potent all through the centuries. Its two greatest influences on the Assamese society were: (i) it moulded its different features into a organic cultural form, giving it a vision and a defined sense of values, (ii) More securely than anything else it criented the Assamese society towards the larger Indian base.

Another notable feature of Assam's history, as Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterje has observed, is that resisting as it did seventeen Mughal expeditions of conquest, Assam remained mostly immune to the Muslim influence. Not only the oriental "luxuries" of the Mughals, but also an aristocracy with a Bohemian way of life are features virtually non-existent in the historical image of Assam. For the greater part of the six centuries of their rule, the Ahom Kings were basically secular in outlook, but their secularism was more attuned to the pragmatic and the realistic than to the Bohemian.

Neither do we find in Assam as in the South India that rock-like solidity of the past as represented by its innumerable sculptures and temples. The South India is represented by Sankaracharyya whose philosophy has a Hegelian rigidity of structure ; Assam is by Sankaradeva whose philosophy was characterized by a pragmatic flexbility yielding it applicable in the various contexts of reality. With the coming of the British the western influence set in, but as it had not a central focus as in Bengal, a seething panorama like the Bengal Renaissance could not emerge. But a product of that Renaissance,—Rabindranath became a potent inflluence on the cultural life of Assam. Not only has his diction left an indelible impress on the works of various Assamese poets and has become almost common property, but also his example of making Indian reality yield a new pattern of meaning in the light of humanism became the ideal for our writers. Although the western element would have exerted its pressure on its own, yet Tagore provided an example of exploiting it in a process of synthesis. Scott percolating through Bankimchandra stirred the creative fibres of Rajanikanta Bardoloi and Padmanath Gohain Barua in the last part of the nineteenth century, and the result was a romantic adoration of the past. But what became viable is the Tagorian form of encounter with reality, of catching its tone in the living context. Lakshminath Bezbarua's realism, although lacking in emotive depth and existing mainly on the level of irony, satire and vivid portraiture, was basically attuned to this form. Chandrakumar Agarwalla whose probe into reality was deeper than Bezbarua's derived his inspiration from a spirit of humanism. The living human world was coming more and more to the centre of the focus, and in the early poetry of Ambikagiri Roychoudhury, written in the first two decades of the century, human passion bursted out with a raw vitality and an almost Jacobian intensity.

All these tendencies resulted in the creation of two literary works which, by virtue of their depth and radiance are the most outstanding productions in the Modern Assamese literature. One is '*Jīvanar Bāṭat*' and the other is Jyotiprasad Agarwalla's *Kāreṅgar Ligirī*. Jyotiprasad's drama has as its theme the problem of 'idealism' in the context of human relationship. Its hero like Tagore's Gora is, at first, dogmatically committed to an "ideal", but at the end, arrives at a more inclusive and humane understanding of reality, the heart no longer divorced from the head. But while Tagore's novel ends on a happy note, the vision embodied in *Kāreṅgar Ligirī* is basically tragic. Jyotiprasad's angular focus on reality helps him to reveal it in a pattern different from the quotidian one we find in *Jīvanar Bāṭat*. By a positive displacement of the surfaces of reality he places it in a mythical time. We recognize the surfaces and the problem and feel that its relevance is not confined to a poetically insulated time and place : but everything has been moulded into a pattern other than the common and the quotidian.

It seems that while Jyotiprasad starts with the conception of an idea, of a vision (i.e., Love and Imagination in *Sonit Kuwari*, Idealism in "*Kāreṅgar Ligirī*") and goes on to leash it tight across the bedrock of reality, to realize it in terms of the complexities of concrete experience, Barua starts with the quotidian and then arrives at a conception of its essence which he then presents in its own terms. He was a man who had a profound interest in the social and cultural history of the society. Though his works of scholarship are more descriptive in nature than illuminating and are not a proper index to his creative powers, still they bear testimony to this fact. Some of them are : The Early Geography of Assam, The Cultural History of Assam, The Folk-Culture of Assam, The Language and Culture of Assam, Sankaradeva : the Vaisnava Saint of Assam, etc. That he was the first man to have written a history of Assamese prose, and was one of the co-editors of the first Assamese Anthology of poetry—bears mention in this context.

This vital interest in a social and cultural process had given him a true understanding of its basic character, and this he embodied in the organic world of art with greater success than in his scholastic work.

To deal with the contemporary reality of the society, the technique and the grounding of the moral base the novel, *Jīvanar Bāṭat,* displays, will most probably not be adequate. And though the society portrayed in it has not perhaps undergone a change similar to that of the world of Manhattan we find in Edith Wharton's *The House of Mirth,* yet what Morton Dauwen Zabel has said about that novel seems to be applicable in this context:

"The *House of Mirth* undoubtedly 'dates' to-day in both its drama and its art, but it dates in the serious way of being authentically local, timely and documentary. If its world and external situation have changed almost beyond present recognition, they are redeemed by the art and expert knowledge she brings to their treatment, and so still retain their authority of a direct personal insight and a truth grounded in the tragic vision which becomes permanent."

A Note on Seuji Patar Kahini and the Short Stories

By

BHABEN BARUA

Birinchi Kumar Barua has to his credit a number of short stories an one-act play and besides *Jīvanar Bāṭat,* another novel *Seujī Pātar Kāhinī* (A tale of the Green Leaves). He was one of the three pioneers who brought to our short story a distinctly modern note during the early thirties. The stories he wrote in the early period of his creativity deal with the modern urban life as it was emerging in those days; and they are collected in a volume, *Paṭ Parivartan* (Change of Scene). But it is mainly in his later stories like *"Āghonī Bāi"* and *"Śesh Nirmāli"* that he seems to have struck his deeper personal note. "Āghonī Bāi" is the story of an old village woman in decrepitude: comic, tragic, humanly susceptible to weakness—she at the end, seems to have acquired something of the elemental, non-human quality of the forests in which she often roams gathering fruits. A glimpse of her youthful days becomes a counterpoint that makes her story all the more poignant. "Śeṣh Nirmāli" is an example of the writer's concrete historical imagination. In it a basic human theme is focussed in the context of the Ahom days. These stories indicate the line leading to his masterpriece, *Jīvanar Bāṭat.* A large awareness of reality, poignancy that never becomes verbose sentimentality and romantic effusion are some of the basic features of these short stories.

The novel, *Seujī Pātar Kāhinī,* lacks the thematic cohesion of *Jīvanar* Bāṭat and is notable mainly for its spisodic illuminations. One reason of the failure is, perhaps, that here the writer went off his centre of gravity. The connection attempted at between the central Assamese society (in the form of the hero, Nareswar) with that of the tea-plantation labourers' has perhaps a core of unreality in it, although it is not viciated by an idealistic tinge. In social terms it seems to be more 'possible' than 'probable'. The connection fails to illuminate a theme in concrete terms; and the long historical description of Nareswar's ancestral place, intended to suggest the central pull of the Assamese society and the past ultimately does not come to possess a central significance. Nareswar is the product of a society which has a conservative moral outlook. The attitude of the tea-garden labourers with whom he comes into contact is, on the other hand, the opposite of it; and they show a vitality and an unhibited attitude towards sexual morals. Mrs. Miller represents the ruling class, lacking in that primitive, 'Lawrencian' vitality of the labourers and isolated, as it were, from the roots of life. Sonia the heroine is the product of the primitive vitality and the "Western" refinement, her father being an European and mother, a tea-garden labourer. She belongs to no recognizible world but a world peculiarly her own. This confrontation of Nareswar, trying to escape the pull of the conservative society, with Sonia, unable to meet reality in socially-available terms, ultimately does not strike deep significance. They simply confront each other and what this illuminates is simply the blind alley in which they are placed.

The impression of diffusion and sprawl we get from this novel is the result of the absence of a central vision illuminating a whole. It is the presence of this vision that makes the seeming "irregularities" of *Jīvanar Bāṭat* relevant to the whole. Of course, this relevance is not of the kind we find in the strict schemalization of a drama: and what Mr. Albert Cook says in his "Meaning of Fiction" has a bearing on this point: "Our first criterion in judging a novel should be that of unity. This is not the coherence of skillful motivation and economy of presentation, the novel's stock-in-trade equivalent for the Ibsenesque lightness of modern drama. Nor is unity some particular plot-structure felt to be economically managed. It is simply the singleness of vision in every intuitive statement, and in the whole which is given a novel by the "esemplastic power of imagination."

By virtue of the novel's claim to a greater leeway than that to which poetry or drama can claim, it deals with reality more extensively and minutely. But while the mass thus gathered is fused in *Jīvanar Bāṭat* into a central significance, in *Seujī Pātar Kāhinī* it is not. In the case of the former, to understand the inward drama it contains, to know what the central characters reveal is to be aware of the concrete social reality, its various issues and undercurrents which have been superbly realized in the body of the novel.

Dr Barua as an Organiser of Educational Activities

By

B. C. LAHKAR

Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua is no more with us. But his writings and activities still remind us of his great qualities of head and heart. The people of Assam are well aware of Dr Barua's versatile genius. He was an erudite scholar, an eminent literateur, a notable historian and above all a reputed organiser of educational and cultural institutions. His contributions towards the establishment of Gauhati University were of no mean order. He worked with the late Gopinath Bardoloi, the Builder of modern Assam, during the post-war period and moved from door to door, from village to village for raising funds for the establishment of the Gauhati University, the highest seat of learning in Assam to-day. Dr Barua was very closely connected with every aspect of the life of the University, and worked with heart and soul till the last day of his life for the progress and improvement of the Alma-Mater.

The establishment of Gauhati University in 1948 made it necessary to have a healthy growth and smooth expansion of collegiate education in the state. Dr Barua kept himself alive to this requirement and did his best for the growth of collegiate education. For, he thought that the performance of the University on its academic side largely depended on the quality of the output of the colleges. I remember him to have told me once that for the expansion of higher education, the spread of learning and the growth of an intellectual atmosphere Assam required well-organised colleges. Dr Barua's unstinted advice provided boundless inspiration to a good number of educationists and lovers of learning who worked for the growth of colleges in different parts of the State.

The Academic Council of the Gauhati University decided under the presidentship of Dr H. C. Bhuyan, the then Vice-Chancellor some time in 1960-61 to convert the old two-year Degree Course into a three-year one. This responsibility was entrusted to Dr Barua. He toured the whole of Assam and visited many colleges with two of his senior colleagues, namely, Shri S. C. Rajkhowa, D.P.I., Assam, and Shri Harishchandra Goswami, the then Principal of Cotton College, Gauhati. Dr Barua and his colleagues studied the problems of the colleges and the snags in the way of their conversion into the Three-Years Degree Course. He pleaded very strongly before the University Grants Commission for liberal grants to the colleges of Assam for their conversion into the Three-Year Degree Course. And as a consequence most of the Degree colleges of Assam received several lakhs of rupees from the U.G.C. for the purpose of upgrading themselves to the T.D.C.

Dr Barua took keen and active interest in the improvement of all branches of studies including Commerce in Gauhati University. He was fully aware of the urgent necessity of developing Commerce education in this State ; because, he realised that the need for Commerce education was imperative in these days of industrialisation and economic planning for defence and development. Once in 1961 he visited the D.H.S.K. College at Dibrugarh and found that there was a scope for a separate and independent Commerce College in that town. He suggested the authorities of the D.H.S.K. College to separate the Commerce Section of that college so as to form a full-fledged Commerce College. And that was how the D.H.S.K. Commerce College was organised as a separate entity.

Gauhati University decided some time in 1960-61 to do away with the under-graduate classes of science and commerce from its purview in view of the University's insistent emphasis on post-graduate studies and research. This decision of the University authorities gave a serious blow to the growth of undergraduate commerce education in this premier city of Assam. It was at this time that some educationists and important leaders of public including the present writer took the initiative to start a Commerce College at Gauhati under the able leadership and guidance of Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua. He left no stone unturned to start a Commerce College at Gauhati and as a result of his untiring efforts the Gauhati Commerce College came ino being in 1962. The writer came in close contact with that great scholar as one of the sponsors of the College and could have a nearer view of his versatile genius particularly his immense capabilities as an organiser. It is sometimes difficult for many of us to get a thing done by the Government easily and quickly even after a number of representations and deputations. But many such things were easy for Dr Barua specially because of his strong and powerful personality and tactfulness. He could get such things done even through telephonic conversation.

The institution of the Assam Academy for Cultural Relations evidently proves Dr Barua's immense organising capacity. He sought to bring about emotional and cultural integration of the different peoples of Assam and India—through literary and cultural activities, and he wanted to build up the Assam Academy to serve this end in view. The Assam Academy was set up within a very short time and many intellectual and cultural workers were soon engaged in translating its noble ideals into practice. Dr Barua dreamt of making the Assam Academy an international centre of cultural and intellectual activities and to have exchanges among scholars, litterateurs, historians, writers and social and cultural workers of various countries of the world. But alas! Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua had to depart before he could realise even a part of his dream.

Dr Barua and His Varied Interests and Activities

By

PHANINDRANATH TALUKDAR

It was a fine August morning of 1963 with intermittent drizzles when we went to the Borjhar Aerodrome to welcome back home our beloved teacher, Dr B. K. Barua, who was away in the U.S.A. for a lecture tour. We found him agile and optimistic, though a bit pulled down. After alighting from the plane, he started talking enthusiastically to the little group of his admirers collected there about how much could be done in Assam in various cultural fields and how he proposed to devote himself in popularising Indian folk-lore and folk-art outside India. Incidentally he told me that he brought for me a book on radio play technique. I do not think that this was because I recorded 4,000 feet of Assamese folk-songs for him to be carried to America as illustrations of his lectures. It was just because he knew my special interests in radio-play-writing and production that he did remember me even during his busy hours abroad. The book was *Radio Drama Acting and Production: A handbook,* written by Walter Kulevitch Kingson and Roma Cowgill.

He was no less interested in broadcasting since he was associated with AIR programmes in Calcutta even before the Gauhati Station was established in July 1948. Dr Barua was the first conductor of Children's Programme broadcast from Gauhati; and still I remember him sitting in the lounge of the old office of AIR in Ujanbazar, with his note book containing comparing notes, folk-tales, quizzes, puzzles and tit-bits for the young listeners. He was always sincere in his work and, even though he was working in the Cotton College and subsequently in the University, he never neglected his assignments of AIR children programmes. Rather he was fond of children and continued to conduct this programme till he was not overburdened with University affairs. Dr Barua possessed a radiogenic mellow voice which could project his sweet and winning personality whenever he was on the air.

He was a versatile writer and wrote stories, essays, novels and plays with equal success. But he was not to run after cheap publicity by just pushing whatever he writes for publication or broadcast.

His play, *Ebelār Nāṭ,* a real pioneer in one-Act play was successfully broadcast in a Drama Festival. But he did not allow us to make a radio version of his novel, *Jīvanar Bāṭat,* as he thought that proper justice could not be done to the subject in putting the theme in drama form for a duration of 30 to 45 minutes only.

In case of his other novel, *Seujī Pātar Kāhinī,* he allowed us to adapt only the character of Sonia in the form of a radio play of a short duration. After listening to the broadcast of that play he requested the authorities not to rebroadcast the recorded version as he thought some improvement were necessary.

Dr Barua broadcast a number of talks on literary and cultural subjects and some of them were broadcast in different languages from other stations of All India Radia.

Dr Barua was a member of the Local Programme Advisory Committee for many years and subsequently became a member of the Central Advisory Committee of All India Radio. Towards the latter part of his life he was somehow a bit annoyed with the management of All India Radio. But still he used to participate in programmes now and then, when called for. If I am not mistaken, his last broadcast assignment was on an outstanding Assamese classics, *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa-kāvya,* broadcast in 1963.

Even amidst his multifarious activities at the University, Sahitya Academy, Assam Academy for cultural affairs and other institutions he had a genuine interest in song and drama.

Once I just mentioned to him the possibility of holding a seminar on various aspects of Assamese drama and, to my surprise, he did immediately arrange such a seminar for three days at Gauhati where scholars and other persons interested in playmaking participated in the discussions about Aṅkyā Nāṭ, radio plays, one-act plays, cinema scripts, open-air theatre, etc. He asked me to compile a volume of best one-act plays in Assamese presented in the annual competition held by All Assam One-Act Play Conference, but before I could submit him the compiled manuscripts, Dr Barua left us all.

During the hectic days of the Chinese aggression in 1962, he organised street-singing squads of poets and artists who used to go round the city singing patriotic songs and reciting inspiring poems. He wrote a few songs on the occasion, though he was too shy to make them public in his own name.

Dr Barua was all the time active, energetic and with his smiling face and winning personality he could organise the old and the young alike for the purposes of various cultural and social activities.

Dr Barua was an institution by himself, and this is amply proved when we see that after his death the Assam Academy is inactive for last two years and little is heard of since then about any activities of Sahitya Akademi so far as Assamese literature is concerned.

As one connected with him for more than twenty years, I could know his deep interests in everything of cultural. The book *Radio Drama Acting and Production,* which I still possess as a precious treasure, reminds me often of the departed soul and encourages me to follow his ideal in life, which was: Work, work and work till you sleep eternally.

B. K. B. : An Ex-Pupil's Reminiscences

By

GOLOCKCHANDRA GOSWAMI

Birinchi Kumar Barua is no more with us, but his memories will ever remain a living inspiration to all his close associates.

B.K.B., or even shorter B.K. the very familiar name by which this big man had often been referred to, affectionately, surely, departed too soon a time when his name showed some promise extending across the national bounds. After Dr Banikanta Kakati's demise Birinchi Kumar Barua had been accepted as the authority on nearly everything relating to Assam and Assamese: its life, language and literature, history and culture. He was a confirmed visionary : the life of Assam, for that matter, of the whole country reflected in unision in his vision. Unity is the central theme of that vision that embraced the very life and being of the hills and the plains in an Indian background. He professed integration all through his academic activities, an emotional integration of the diverse elements that build up this vast country. He fully realized that beauty lies in diversity unfolded in their true perspective ; and so, established the Assam Academy for Cultural Relations in order to bring about a cultural resurgence of this eastern part. Also, he had been primarily responsible for the establishment of the Department of Folk lore and Tribal Culture in Gauhati University. These are the type of institutions which act as Clearance Houses of all misunderstanding, prejudice and hatred that divide, and which go a long way fostering unity, creating goodwill and proper understanding among people. Let these fulfil the sacred task, the cherished ideal of the founder.

If Barua is remarkable for anything, then it is undoubtedly as a teacher. I still remember my first acquaintances with Barua the teacher, in the Cotton College. It was in the years 1944-45 when I was in the Intermediate Science class. With his gait so dignified, Barua would enter the huge class of about one hundred students, call the roll, stand up from the chair and sit at one corner of the table with one of his legs hanging down and the other one resting on the ground. He would then take the text-book, it was his own collection of poems, the *Kavitā-kuñja,* in his left hand, face the students and start his lecture ; all these so characteristic of B.K.B.! His lectures were always interesting for their comprehensiveness and general details of the treatment. At times he would go on discussing the points one after the other, starting with *prathamate,* i.e., firstly, and ending with *dutīyate,* i.e., secondly, although he may have covered three, four, five, nay, may be, many more points!

All this is impressive, no doubt; but Barua was much more impressive in the post-graduate classes. He spent a great deal of time in preparing his lectures everyday. He came to the class saturated with information and new ideas which he wanted to pour down in sixty minutes' time and overwhelm the students. In the discussions ideas hurried in such speed that at times the link, apparently, was totally lost. As a result the students who do not come prepared on the subject often find it difficult to follow. But then, let him alone; take down, in short-hand, if necessary, whatever he says in the class and reorganize the whole thing that evening home. You may rest assured, there can be no note better than that one on the subject. I used to do this in his class, specially his lectures on modern literature.

As a student in the post-graduate class I found Pali and Prakrit undigestible. It so appeared that I understood everything in the class: Barua was surely the master teacher on the subject; but then, all was lost as I got home back. I, one day, explained my difficulties on the subject to him. He at once proferred to teach me in his house. I can never forget his coaching on the MIA texts and grammar at his residence at the old Law College compound many a morning on holidays. A post-graduate student studying at the feet of a teacher like a school child! All this only speaks of his great devotion to the profession he held almost sacred. Barua accepted teaching as a continuous process of learning; and both as a great pleasure.

Students, Barua loved as his brothers and sisters and held their cause above everything else : he had been so kind and sympathetic to their problems! During the unfortunate student trouble in the University when somebody was talking of disciplinary action against the students, Barua, although very much aggrieved, blamed himself. "Who are the students? Are they not our sons and daughters, brothers and sisters? Don't they belong to us, to our society? Are we, then, not responsible for their conduct"—said he. Some months later when he died, who will forget the sight by his death-bed when tears rolled down the eyes of the students, many of whom sobbed like children; nay, they literally wept! So, that is what B.K.B. was to the students.

Now, let me recall a small incident that reveals Barua's great respect for age of our leaders. One Sunday morning we were discussing some of my problems at the veranda of his residence. Then came the President of the Asam Sāhitya Sabhā, an elderly leader very much respected by one and all in Assam. He knew me before, but didn't know that I was a student at the time. He enquired about the subject of my studies. To his query I replied that I was studying M.A. in Assamese. He then looked at me and retorted, "Didn't you find any other subject?" It was a challenging retort to us indeed; for, those were the days when students had to be persuaded to take up Assamese in M.A. in the University. I was taken aback. I looked at B.K.B. and then turning on to him, said, "Sir, if you also ask me like that, then my lips are tight." I knew his language bore no sarcasm. Barua also knew it did not. He was not happy at this, I felt. We looked at each other. He simply smiled.

I narrate another incident. It speaks of another aspect of Barua that he was a man and that he had his virtues and vices. It was in 1959 after I had returned from the United States of America. Barua one day gave me two big volumes of the manuscript copies of a Garo-to-English dictionary and an English-to-Garo one. "Golock, please check up these two dictionaries and submit me a report. They will be published by the Government of Assam, and so they want a report on the work", he said. It is always a great pleasure for me to work on language and linguistics. I took the manuscripts with me and patiently went through every item in every page of both the volumes that came to nearly one thousand pages. It took me not less than three to four months. I was very much impressed by the materials collected for the dictionary and the labour the author had put in, but the presentation and the transcription was not without flaw. So, I detailed a report pointing out the merits as well as the shortcomings. I opined that it was excellent as a collection of raw material for a dictionary which needed proper revision. I had indicated the lines of improvement as also mentioned that it would be a pleasure to me to assist the author and see that it came out in a better form.

I completed the report and came to his office along with the manuscripts: Barua was the Secretary of the University Classes then. Prof. Madhab Goswami was with him and none else. He asked me if I finished the report. I handed over the report and expressed my view about the need for revision. Barua at once burst out, "Well, you young man of to-day feel yourself as great scholar, think only you and your ways right, all others of yesterday wrong". For a moment I was in a fix. I have never been used to such a slanting remark from anybody, much less from a person like Barua whom I found always in good humour and received nothing but love and affection as a student in the beginning and as a colleague afterwards. But then, what is wrong with me? Didn't he ask me for a report? Does he want just a note of praise irrespective of all the demerits? He must have been preoccupied with something else. Or else, what was it?, I asked myself; and then said to him, "Sir, you asked me for a report on the dictionary; and here it is. You may do as you like". I placed the manuscript on the table and hurried out of the room to show that I was very much aggrieved at his tone.

After this I didn't see him for about a fortnight. Then one afternoon I had to meet him on some personal matters at his residence. When

I entered the gate I saw Barua having a stroll on his lawn all alone. He, having seen me, almost shouted, "Oh Golock. Please come in. Well, I have gone through your report on the dictionary. It is so excellent! Why didn't you tell me that way the other day? I have already made three copies of the report, and sent one copy to the D.P.I., and another to Mr Harendra Marak" (Mr Marak is the author of the dictionary) "suggesting to contact you for the necessary revision as noted by you". All this he said without any break. It relieved me as though from a great burden of sorrow and pain; I felt light to talk to him freely. We spent a long time, had some discussions, and tea, of course, as usual.

While I returned in the evening for the University bus, one thing came to my mind: B.K.B. is what he has been to me all the time before; he is great. He is great not because he could be arrogant at times, nor because he praised and highly appreciated my report; but because he could realize his mistakes and undo them unreservedly.

Barua was a great source of inspiration to many of us in various fields of research: a rare merit for an Assamese scholar. He himself was inspired by Dr Banikanta Kakati, who may be said to have initiated Barua into the field of research and scholarship; and in return, he inspired Dr M. Neog, Dr S. N. Sharma, Dr P. D. Goswami and many others. Barua was not an intellectual giant, but definitely he was endowed with an immense capacity for analytical details. His ever-sensitive mind worked as a barometer that reacted sharply to the external events, to the contemporary trends and movements in the academic field. He wanted to bring about a revolution in reasearch and studies in Assam. He himself worked ceaselessly all his life, and made others also pursue the same path. After his tour of the United States, he came back loaded with new ideas, plans and schemes all reorientated. He wanted men, scholars to bring his ideas into some concrete shape. With a spirit almost tempestuous, he talked of work, work and more work. He is no more now, but his persuations still reverberate in our minds.

His overzealous enthusiasm for research overshadowed his creative spirit in literary field in later years. But genius shines. His contribution to modern Assamese creative literature, specially his two novels are marvels in the field, unsurpassed. His language and style is mannered to a great extent. Barua appears to have assayed the tradition of the type of ornate style of Lambodar Bora, specially in his early works.

These are only a few of my reminiscences. If B.K.B. dies, these remain.

Let his soul rest in peace.

Dr Barua and the W.U.S.

By

ANIL RATAN BARTHAKUR

The Gauhati University Committee of the World University Service has lost a great friend of this non-political international service organisation in the death of Dr Birinchi Kumar Barua, who headed the Gauhati University Committee since the year 1951 as its Chairman. After taking over its Chairmanship from Shri Hem Barua, M.P., the then Principal of the B. Barooah College, Gauhati, Dr Barua left no stone unturned to make the W.U.S. a really effective service organisation amongst University community in Asssam.

The W.U.S. T.B. ward at the Reid Chest Hospital, Shillong constructed at a cost of Rs. 25,000 with a dozen of beds for student and teacher patients has been able to solve a big problem of the University community. This ward provides accommodation to teacher and student patients of the University at a very nominal seat-rent. It may be recalled that prior to the establishment of this ward, it was really difficult for patients to get accommodation in the T.B. clinics in Assam. Dr Baruah, therefore, took this step to remove the difficulty through the W.U.S. donations. Besides, the Gauhati University Committee donated another amount of Rs. 12,000 to the Lokapriya Gopinath Bardoloi Memorial T.B. Hospial and Sanatorium for the construction of a ward, and the Hospital Committee has now allotted two beds to the University people for their exclusive use. This is really a great service to the University Community and this has become possible only through the stewardship of Dr Barua.

The W.U.S. Club at Ambari, Gauhati, is an another important contribution of the Gauhati Committee of the W.U.S. to the University people in Assam. It was really difficult to get a plot of land in the heart of the city in those days for use of the University Community. Dr Barua had to fight strenuously for securing this plot of land at Ambari and having got it, he wanted to construct a Recreation Club for the University people, student and others. The original idea was that this club will be a meeting-place of students and teachers and there will be provision for indoor games, reading rooms and for a pharmacy where medical help at a concessional rate could be made available to the University men and women. But, after the completion of the ground floor, various developments which took place in the University campus, had their inevitable impact on Dr Barua, who now seemed to have lost all initiative in the development works once so dear to him. Without him the W.U.S. at Gauhati became a dead organisation and there were none to look after it.

In the year 1963, there was an attempt to revitalise the W.U.S. at Gauhati and at the initiative of some old W.U.S. workers, Dr Taylor, the then Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University, reconstituted the Gauhati University Committee of the W.U.S. It is hoped that the Gauhati Committee of the W.U.S. will be able to fulfill the unfulfilled task which W.U.S. at Gauhati undertook under the able leadership of the late Dr Barua, and that it will be able to help the University community in various fields.

An Elegy*

By

BHABEN BARUA

Like the dust settling on the tables and chairs
In a house locked for long
Or like a coin sliding down the stream
Through fingers,
The mute time spreads like a sheet :
The momory-line thins on the ruffled pool.
Is it the green wood
On the dewfall distance you found ?
No, mere nothingness rules there,
And the rounded earth goes reeling
Hitting the darkness ;
About the emptying void of elements
There be no feel
Of the drawn-out heart.
You, a lone stream under dark
Secretly dug the still earth.
On the blood-mint a coin you made
To be put apart from the ebb and flow ;
Time-dust can't gobble it,
It's gold glow not to dim.

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* Written on the occasion of the first death-anniversary of Birinchi Kumar Barua. Translated from the Assamese Original by Hiren Dutta.

श्रीविरिञ्चिकुमारबरुवासंस्तवः

मुकुन्दमाधव शर्मा

विरिञ्चिर्ब्रह्मणो नाम विरिञ्चिरेव सृष्टिकृत् ।
स्रष्टा वै सो हि विश्वस्य विश्वविद्यालयस्य वा ॥
अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेकः प्रजापतिः ।
इति न्यायेन वै सोऽयं स्रष्टा "जीवनवर्त्मनि" ॥
चतुर्मुखमुखाम्भोजविलासिनी यथा श्रुतिः ।
तथैव तन्मुखे नित्यं विद्यादेवी महीयसी ॥
यथा बहुविधे चित्रं प्रपञ्चे ब्रह्मणो गतिः ।
तथा विविधसंस्थासु विरिञ्चिरेव प्राणदः ॥
विरिञ्चिः पण्डितः धीमान् बहुभाषासु पारगः ।
कुशलः काव्यमार्गेऽपि कथारूपकनिर्मितेः ॥
एकदा शिशुपत्रस्य सम्पादनं करोति यः ।
अन्यदा शोधपत्रस्य विनिर्माता स एव हि ॥
मनसि शिशुसारल्यं तारुण्यं हृदये सदा ।
मस्तिष्के वार्द्धकं तस्य चित्रमेतत्त्रयं भृशम् ॥
तपसि मुनिवन्मौनी नम्रत्वे फलवान् तरुः ।
साहसे सिंहसंकाशः चित्रमेतत्त्रयन्तथा ॥
पण्डितः दृश्यते प्रायः विस्मृत्य लोकपद्धतिम् ।
उच्चकैः शून्यमार्गेण एकाकी चलति स्वयम् ॥
परन्तु सो हि पुण्यात्मा सुमहान् पण्डितोऽपि सन् ।
लोकस्य संस्कृतौ नित्यं श्रद्धावान् वै विराजते ॥
सो हि विज्ञस्तथा श्रीमान् लोकानां हृदयञ्जयः ।
अलं को वा नरस्तस्य गुणान् गणयितुं भुवि ॥
तथापि कृतकृत्योऽस्मि श्लोकद्वयविलेखनात् ।
यतो हि गौरवाय स्यात् संस्तवोऽपि महात्मनः ॥
देवभूयं गते तस्मिन् विरिञ्चिसन्निभे गुरौ ।
गुणमुग्धः करोम्येवं नमस्तस्मै महात्मने ॥ इति शम् ॥

PART II

History and Its Writing

By

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

History as now understood is really a new discipline ; even in the west it was not known before the nineteenth century. Almost the only historian of an earlier time who approaches modern standards is Gibbon. All other writers including our own Kalhana of Kashmir wrote histories of sorts. Until the last century history was often looked upon as a branch of literature or rhetoric.

The nineteenth century was the great period of modern historical writing ; the age of great historians in almost all western countries and the period when the new outlook and methods of history were developed and perfected. For a long time the question was debated whether history is a science or an art. In the course of the debate, one English historian went so far as to say : History is a science, no less and no more. But the verdict of another English historian may well be taken to sum the position correctly and neatly, viz., that history is scientific in its method and an art in its presentation.

We Indians have often been accused of a lack of historical sense, and I can recall the names of several eminent Indians of modern times who have without hesitation admitted the correctness of the charge. Not only have we missed producing a historian like the Greek Herodotus or Thucydides or the Chinese Ssu-ma-chien ; but considering the size of our country and the length of its history, the volume of our historical records is very little. The archives of states which must have existed and are occasionally mentioned in literature and inscriptions have perished almost completely with the exception of some relatively recent village Kaifiyats and revenue accounts. We have no travel records or diaries, though Ananda Ranga Pillai's Tamil diary is a unique exception. We often learn more about our country in the different periods of its history from foreign sources than from our own.

Our whole attitude to history and the record of it seems to have been different from that not only of western countries, but also of a country like China. We have taken with more alacrity to myth making and philosophy than to sober recording of facts as they occurred. Our literature is rich in fables, puranas, and romances and legends, and even now some professed students of history are unable to grasp the difference between legend and history.

Religion pervades almost all our activities, and the historian has much reason to be grateful for one religious injunction which made the making of gifts and donations the primary social duty of the well to do and another injunction which laid down that such gifts be recorded in detail on stone and copper with a description of the donor and the donee and the ancestry of each at least up to three generations. Most of our ancient history known to day has been derived from such donative inscriptions on stone and copper. And it is my purpose here to tell you something of a recently discovered copper plate of the Pandyan dynasty which lights up a dark corner of South Indian History. This grant is registered as no. 14 of 1958-59 in the Epigraphy report and is said to have been received from Tirunelveli through Shri P. K. Arunachala Gounder, Professor of Tamil in the M. D. T. Hindu College, Pettai. I understand that the plates were discovered accidentally in the course of digging a well in the Dalavaypuram village of the Kovilpatti taluq. Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India, has kindly furnished me, on request with a transcript of the entire charter, and I base this paper on that transcript.

Early Pandyan history of the family of Kadungon and his descendants extends from the middle of the sixth century A.D. to the first quarter of the tenth century when the Chola Parantaka I conquered the Pandya country and assumed the title Madurikonda. This history rests altogether on two copper plate grants and two stone inscriptions bearing dates in a well known era. The grant I speak about falls in date between the two plates I have mentioned, viz., the Velvikudi and the larger Sinnamannur grants, and is nearer the latter than the former. It gives us much new information on the genealogy of the family and on the history of the early ninth century. The fresh information we get here clears up some difficulties in the history of the Pandyas and the Pallavas of the time. This grant has not yet been fully studied, and as usual it raises some new problems while it seems to give a clue to the solution of some others. It will take some time for a general consensus to arise among scholars on the definitive interpretation of the new facts. I shall put forward a tentative view which may provide a basis for discussion.

We have here a set of seven plates the first and last of which are engraved only on the inside, the rest being written on both sides and numbered. The writing is Grantha for the first part which is in Sanskrit verse and extends to sixty five lines, and Vatteluttu for the longer Tamil portion extending from 1.66 to 1.238, Grantha being employed even here for Sanskrit names and words just as a very few names of places are written in Tamil in the Sanskrit portion. The writing clearly belongs to the early ninth century. The plates are strung on a ring with a seal bearing the emblems of two fish (Pandya) along with the tiger (Chola) and the bow (Chera) on a smaller scale and the legend in anushtup verse reads

samasta vasudhā dhīśa cūḍāratnāmśurā jiṣu
śāsanan jagati bhartur idam jaṭilavarmaṇaḥ

The most notable new fact we get from these plates is that the Pandya Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha (815—62 A.D.) had a Telugu Chola queen by name Aggalanimmati; by her he had the son named Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa who issued this grant in his forty fifth year. Śrīmāra's father-in-law is called Śrīkantha, who is called the nephew of the victorious Mānābharaṇa, the chief of Toṇḍiyar; Śrīkantha is also described as Mayilaiyar, Kōn and Pottappik ulachola. The title of the nephew, Lord of Mayilaiyar, (Mayilai is Mylapore beyond doubt), shows that the uncle was Toṇḍaiyar kōn, lord of the Toṇḍaiyar, people of the Toṇḍaimandalam. This important new fact explains, I think, the big gap that has long been known in the reign of the Pallava king Dantivarman (796—846 A.D.) whose inscriptions are not found between 817 and 845; between his twenty-first and forty-sixth regnal years. So it seems that for about three decades, the heart of the Pallava country had passed under the occupation of the Telugu-Cōḍas; their neighbours to the north-east; neighbours are natural enemies according to our traditional political philosophy, and according to that rule the Pandyas were also the enemies of the Pallavas, and the two enemies joined together and contracted the dynastic alliance. The Pallavas obviously suffered a great loss of their power as a result, and the Telugu-Cōḍas occupied much of their territory during a part of Dantivarman's reign. The situation was redeemed by the martial ability of Dantivarman's son Nandivarman III who won a decisive victory against his father's foes at Teḷḷāru in Wandiwash Taluq of North Arcot District, sometime about 846 A.D. Till now it was a puzzle why a battle between the Pallava and Pandya should have taken place so far north; now we see the reason in the occupation of Pallava territory by the Telugu-Cōḍas and in the dynastic alliance between them and the Pandyas by the marriage of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha to Aggalanimmaṭi. The importance of the battle of Teḷḷāṟu was long known because in his inscriptions Nandivarman III is very often called the 'Nandivarman who gained the throne by his victory at Teḷḷāṟu'. The *Nandikkalambakam* informs us that this victory was followed by a Pallava invasion of the Pandya country and that this inroad reached their capital city of Madurai on the banks of the Vaigai river.

Another fact of importance is the statement that the grant was issued by Vīranārāyaṇa in his forty-fifth year when his elder brother Varaguṇavarman 'was ruling the world thinking always of the god Pinākapāṇi who bore the young moon in his matted locks', viz., God Śiva. This at once reminds us of the story of the friendship between Māṇikkavāśagar and Varaguṇavarman, and goes far to confirm a date in the ninth century for this celebrated Śaiva Saint. But this is not the whole truth about Varaguṇavarman, and there is much evidence, literary and epigraphic, to show that he took active interest in politics and had close personal relations with Nandivarman's son Nripatunga. There are also references to rival Pāndya princes who fought against both Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha and his son Vīranārāyaṇa, and our record also says that Vīranārāyaṇa defeated an elder brother of his in battle. These data may be interpreted in different ways, but I cannot attempt to discuss them further here. Our copper plate is important in other ways also for the administration, economy, and literature of the time. But I have said enough to show the importance of the search for and study of such historical records for our understanding of the past; and this work can proceed satisfactorily only if public interest in it becomes much more active than it has so far been. Small local associations created round colleges and schools can find scope for much interesting and useful work in this line, viz., the collection and study of historical records, and also their safe preservation in a common centre like the Madras Record Office.

Geographical Back-ground of the Kuvalayamala

By

A. N. Upadhye

The *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri is an important Campū in Prākrit. It is extensive in bulk, rich in narrative tales and varied in contents. It was completed at Jalor (in Rājasthān) on the last day but one of the Śaka-year 700, equal to the 21st March, 779 A.D. A critical edition of the Prākrit text, along with that of its stylistic Sanskrit Digest by Ratnaprabhasūri is lately brought out by me in the Singhi Jaina Series (No. 45 and 45a) and published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay 1959-61. It is proposed in this paper to give a sketch of the geographical back-ground of the tales in this work.

The territorial (or what might be, in many cases, political) divisions and the geographical details referred to in the *Kuvalayamālā* deserve special attention. In the southern half of Jambūdvīpa, which is surrounded by the ocean, there is the Bhāratavarṣa, isolated (?) by the Vaitāḍhya mountain (7.7f) : the two Deśas, Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha, are well-known (§ 430). The town of Takṣaśilā is situated in the Madhyamakhaṇḍa of the Uttarāpatha (§ 127); the river Candrabhāgā flows there and conflows into the ocean (*jalahi-daiyā*); on its bank there is the famous town Pavvaīyā where ruled Torarāya (§ 430).

To the South of Vaitāḍhya, in between Gaṅgā and Sindhū, there is the Madhyadeśa; its capital is Vinītā, the same as Ayodhyā; and it was being ruled by king Dṛḍhavarman (§§ 13-7, 156.26, § 285). Avantījanapada, possibly a part of Mālava-deśa, has Ujjainī as its capital (§ 97). Prince Mahendra is the son of king of Mālava who is not on good terms with Dṛḍhavarman of Ayodhyā (§ 21 f.). From Ujjainī there was a highway to Pāṭaliputra (77). Vatsadeśa has its capital in Kauśāmbī, ruled over by Purandara-datta (§§ 67-69). The term Pūrvadeśa is used at times (62.17, 65.31). Dakṣiṇāpatha was looked upon as rich (104.6 f.); and there the town of Pratiṣṭhāna was prosperous, affording opportunities for earning wealth (§ 114). Sopāraka was a big emporium for traders who came there from different parts of the country (§§ 128-29). Lāṭa which has its specialities of dress and deśa-bhāṣā, and in which Dvārakā is located (§ 291) is mentioned along with Karṇāṭa, Mālava, Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra, etc. (150.20, 185.8). Among other towns mentioned we may take note of Bhṛgukaccha (99, 123 etc.); Vārāṇasī in the territory of

Kāśī (56.21 f.) ; Kośalā in Kośala 73.30 f.) ; and Campā located in Dakṣiṇa-madhyama-Khaṇḍa (96, 103, 109). Among the Jaina holy places, Sammeda-Śikhara and Śatruñjaya (124.18 ; 80.18) deserve attention.

The author shows some acquaintance with the extreme South of India. Caṇḍasoma belonged to Ragaḍā (not a Sanskritic name), a village in the vicinity of Kāñcī, the capital of Kāñcī of Draviḍas (45.15 f.). Parties of traders used to go to Kāñcīpurī (134.32 f.). It is interesting to trace the route of Prince Kuvalayacandra. He is flown by the horse from the town of Vinītā or Ayodhyā towards the South. He passes through the Vindhya forest (27.28 f.) which possesses camps of wild tribes (112.3-25). He crosses the river Narmadā or Revā (§ 206), on the banks of which there is a Mahāṭavī. Then he comes to the Sahya Mountain (134.24-30). in the valley of which he stays with a Bhilla chief in his *pallī* (138.11 f.). Then he reaches the country of Vijayā-pura-varī on the southern coast (149.6 f.). Its capital is Vijayā (-nagarī, -puravarī or -purī), quite a prosperous town and situated right on the shore of the ocean the scenes of which could be witnessed from the terrace of the palace : in fact, its southern rampart-wall was washed by the waves of the ocean (173.32 f.). It is to be distinguished from Jayantī (183.19). Other towns named Jayaśrī (104.8), Śrītuṅga (107.16) and Jayatuṅga (109.26) are referred to ; and they are all located on the southern shore.

The most important question is the identification of this port town Vijayā in the South. Uddyotana may not have personally visited the South, but it is quite likely that he had heard a good bit about it through the mouths of traders going to the South possibly travelling along the Western Coast. In the South of India there are some towns with their names beginning with Vijaya, such as Vijayapura, Vijayanagara, Vaijayantī ; and some of them pretty ancient. The proposed identification has to fulfil certain conditions : it is located on the Western Coast, as it is reached after crossing the Sahyādri ; secondly, it is situated right on the sea-shore ; and thirdly, its southern wall was washed by the waves of the ocean (173.31). One is inclined to identify it with Vijayadurga in the Ratnagiri District. Very interesting information about it is noted in the Ratnagiri (Dt.) Gazetteer (p. 379). It was known to the European travellers as the best of the Konkan ports. It is a rocky spot surrounded by sea practically on three sides : the river Sukha-nadī (as it is locally called) flowing down from Kharepattan almost makes a good lake near the fort ; and it is a safe haven for the boats plying along the Western Coast. Though the present structures belong to the Maratha period, the port shows a good rocky base which must have been well-known and striking to the travellers along the Western Coast. It was under the rulers of Bijapur (the former Vijayapura). Lately, I visited the place and was struck by the coincidental description in the *Kuvalayamālā* that the southern wall is washed by the waves of the sea. "A. Hamilton (1710) mentions it as Gheria or Vizendruk, fortified by a strong castle washed by the sea (New Account, L. 246). In 1756 Sir W. James, surveying before the English attack, speaks of a very large town betwixt the fort and a hill to the South. The town seems to have been nothing but a large collection of palm-leaf huts (Low's Indian Navy, L 133). Its great natural advantages make it probable that the mouth of Vaghotan river is one of the oldest coast settlements. There seems reason to suppose that it is Ptolemy's (150) Byzantium, a Greek Corruption of Vaijayantha (see Weber in Ind. Ant. II. 148). Rashid-uddin's (1310) Karoba has been thought to be Gheria (Yule in Ind.Act. III. 209)."

About the identification Vaijayanti (mentioned in the Kadamba copper plates) and Jayantipur (of the Vijayanagar grant) there is a difference of opinion. Some take them to be Banavasi, in the South Kanara District, while R. G. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Dekkan, 3rd ed. Calcutta 1928, pp. 73 f.) proposes Vijayadurga. Uddyotana, as noted above, distinguishes Jayanti from Vijaya. The environments of Vijayā and the route to it from Ayodhyā, as stated by in the *Kuvalayamālā* very well suit the present day Vijayadurga which was included in the Vijayapura territory.

Old Indo-Aryan √acam- and Its Cognates in New Indo-Aryan

By

S. M. Katre

Sir Ralph Turner, in his *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages,* records the following entries on √ā-cam :—

1064 *ācama*—'sipping water' : Pa. *ācamā* f. 'absorption, resorption' ; —with *-cc-* : Or. *āñcuā,* °*ciā* 'washing the mouth after a meal'.

1065 *ācamana*—n. 'sipping water from the palm of the hand' : Pa. *ācamana*—n., Pk. *āyamaṇa*—n. 'rinsing the mouth' ; —with *-cc-* H *acwan* m. M *ā̃cvaṇ, ācvaṇ.*

1068 *ācāma* n. 'water in which rice has been boiled' : Pa. *ācāma*—m ; Pk. *āyāma*—m.

1069 *ācāmati* 'sips water from the palm of the hand', *ācāmayati* 'causes to sip water' : Pa. *ācamati* 'rinses the mouth', Pk. *āyāmai,* M *ā̃vṇẽ, āvṇẽ,* —with *-cc-* : Pk. *ācāmaï,* N *acāunu,* A ***ā̃soiba,*** B. *ā̃cāna,* Or. *āñccibā,* °*coibā,* H. *acānā,* M. *ā̃cavṇẽ* —caus. Pa. *ācāmāpeti ;* Or *āñcuāibā* 'to wash a child's mouth and hands after eating', H. *ācwānā,* M *ā̃caviṇẽ, āc-'.*

The presence of -c- in NIA cognates has rightly been attributed by Sir Ralph to MIA forms with *-cc-*, a fact which establishes the currency of the verbal base √*cam.* in MIA stage, with or without prepositions. The only form without a preposition quoted by Sir Ralph is No. 4752 "Cāmya—n. 'food' lex. : Gy. gr. *cam* f.. 'bread', wel. *camikani* f. 'pancake', very doubtful. —Der. from *camb*—'to chew'." A further reference to *nicamati* is yet to appear in fascicule VI.

Of the inherited NIA forms from OIA *ācāmati* M. *ā̃vṇẽ* or *āvṇẽ* or *āvṇẽ* corresponds to Konkaṇī *ā̃vtā* 'rinses the mouth, sips water from the palm of the hand' while *ācāmayati* has left its trace in Ko. *ā̃vaytā* 'causes to sip water'.

A Brief Survey of Some Textual Corruption in Some Tales from China

By

DONALDS M. HINES

Introduction to the Study[1]

When one examines closely *Folk Tales From China,* series one through five, published in Peking by the Foreign Languages Press between 1957 and 1960, several problems become apparent. First, the tales purport to be folktales and they might be taken as actual texts of folktales from China except that the time and place of record, and name of the informant for each are not given. Second, they lack information about the sources of the tales except that they have been "adapted." Third, these versions tend to dwell at length on certain political themes which seem inappropriate to folktales. Fourth, these tales are obvious literary adaptations for they contain lengthy and sometimes quite biased descriptions and character portrayals, and descriptions of emotional reactions of the hero. For example, in "The Orphan Yen Jan," *Folk Tales From China,* Fifth Series, page 66, the first paragraph states that "some people said Yen Jan was just like a tree : When he was a fragile sprout which had just popped out of Mother Earth, fratricidal strife robbed him of his father. And when he had just begun to spread young green leaves, disease and hunger brought his mother to her death. Then he embarked upon the road of life and without anybody to depend upon tramped from place to place."

In an attempt to discover the nature of the bias in *Folk Tales From China,* group A or five examples were selected from *Folk Tales From China* to compare with group B or six similar examples of the "Magic Thing," Type 63, in Prof. Wolfram Eberhard's *Typen Chinesischer Volksmärchen,* FFC No. 120 (Helsinki, 1937), pages 107-8. All of the versions have been broken down or reduced to their structural elements. In addition the examples have been studied to determine details about the hero and his environment, and his reactions to governmental or other ruling classes. Also, the versions have been studied to discover the role of religion in the tales. Important to this paper, the tales have been studied not merely to illuminate the insidious invasion of folklore by a political ideology ; instead, this study seeks to delineate areas of textual corruption. Thus, the versions of the tale have been listed in Table I herein. In Table II the elements of the tale have been noted in detail with their frequency of occurrence. Although a more intensive study in detail, and much more time are needed for a thorough and complete study, yet the examples of the tales and the data in the tables herein may provide some substance which, despite the limited scope of this paper, may be of value to another student of folklore.

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[1] This paper was submitted originally to a seminar in Chinese Folk-lore at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, during August 1963.

TABLE I

THE VERSIONS OF THE TALES

A. Adapted versions

Ch 1. *Folk Tales From China,* First Series (Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1957).
  Ch 1A. "Ma Liang and His Magic Brush," pp. 53-65.
    (A story of the Han people)
  Ch 1B. "The Third Son and the Magistrate," pp. 77-89.
    (A story of the Chuang people)

Ch 2. "The Magic Carrying-Pole," *Folk Tales From China,* Second Series (Peking, 1958), pp. 111-115.
  (A story from Yunnan Province)

Ch 3. "The Piece of Chuang Brocade," *Folk Tales From China,* Fourth Series (Peking, 1958), pp. 56-68.
  (A story of the Chuang people)

Ch 4. "The Orphan Yen Jan," *Folk Tales From China,* Fifth Series (Peking, 1960), pp. 66-79.
  (A story of the Kawa people)

B. Traditional versions

Ch 10. Wolfram Eberhard, *Typen Chinesischer Volksmärchen,* FFC No. 120 (Helsinki, 1937), pp. 107-8.

Ch 11. Wolfram Eberhard, *Chinese Fairy Tales and Folk Tales* (London, 1937), No. 12, pp. 59-65.

Ch 12. H. F. Chiang, "The White Dragon," *Popular Chinese Tales* (Peiping : Yu Lien Press, 1935), pp. 48-56.

Ch 13. Tehyi Hsieh, *Chinese Village Folk Tales* (Boston, 1948), pp. 16-17.

Ch 14. Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan* (London, n.d.), pp. 88-94.

Ch 15. Wolfram Eberhard, *Volksmärchen aus Südost-China,* FFC No. 128 (Helsinki, 1941), pp. 81-82.

TABLE II

THE ELEMENTS OF THE TALES

I. The Characters

A. Main actor

1. A youth

(a) A young man. Ch 12, Ch 14
(b) A young, clever third son. Ch 1B, Ch 3, Ch 11
(c) A clever, orphaned beggar lad. Ch 1A, Ch 4

2. A man

(a) An old man. Ch 2
(b) A man. Ch 10

3. A woman

(a) A good woman. Ch 15, Ch 13.

B. Giver of the magic object

1. Gods

(a) Dragon king. Ch 1B, Ch 11, Ch 12
(b) Yellow dragon, a dragon youth. Ch 14
(c) God. Ch 15

2. Men

(a) A saint. Ch 10
(b) An old man with a long white beard. Ch 1A

3. Other

(a) A fairy dressed in red. Ch 3
(b) The moon. Ch 10
(c) A bird. Ch 13

4. The element is lacking or unspecified. Ch 2, Ch 4

C. Other characters

1. Rulers

(a) Emperor. Ch 1A, Ch 12, Ch 14
(b) Magistrate. Ch 1B, Ch 12
(c) Prince. Ch 4
(d) Princess. Ch 4, Ch 12
(e) Elder sister of princess. Ch 4

2. Gods

(a) Dragon king. Ch 1B, Ch 11, Ch 12
(b) Son of dragon king. Ch 1B, Ch 11, Ch 12

(c) Daughter of dragon king. Ch 1B
(d) A young swan girl. Ch 10
(e) Envoy of dragon king. Ch 11
(f) Servants of yellow dragon. Ch 14
(g) Spirit of the magic object. Ch 11

3. Others with authority

(a) Schoolmaster. Ch 1A
(b) Landlord. Ch 1A
(c) Wealthy landowner and wife. Ch 2

4. Parents and brothers or sisters

(a) An old father. Ch 14
(b) An old father and mother. Ch 11
(c) An adopted mother. Ch 4
(d) An aged mother. Ch 3
(e) Lazy, ineffectual brothers. Ch 1B, Ch 3
(f) Deceitful, thieving older brother. Ch 10
(g) Wives of older brothers. Ch 11
(h) Wife of main character. Ch 11

5. Others

(a) An old female busybody. Ch 13
(b) Unfaithful friend. Ch 12
(c) Fairies who weave. Ch 3
(d) An old woman who gives advice. Ch 3, Ch 14
(e) A maiden. Ch 2

II. Introduction to the Tale

A. Motivation for action in the story

1. Economic necessity

(a) Hero desires to make a living after death of parents. Ch 1B
(b) Hero must go to the forest if he is to survive; he is rejected by the townsfolk. Ch 4

2. Unjust treatment

(a) Girl is forced to carry water long distances. Ch 10
(b) Young brother cheated of his portion of inheritance. Ch 10
(c) Village cruelly molested by huge monster. Ch 12

3. Actions of parents

(a) Old mother wishes to weave picture of beautiful estate. Ch 3
(b) Father sends sons out to learn a trade. Ch 11

4. Acts of kindness or good manners

(a) Hero courteously deals with yellow dragon. Ch 14

(b) Heroine discovers injured bird. Ch 13
(c) Woman has lived an exemplary, godly life. Ch 15

5. Other

(a) Cows break into field where hero works. Ch 2
(b) Hero has insatiable desire to learn to paint. Ch 1A

6. The element is lacking or unspecified. 0

III. The Magic Object

A. Location where object is obtained

1. The underworld

(a) Underwater palace of the dragon king. Ch 1B, Ch 11, Ch 12

2. On earth

(a) When herd with magic cow breaks into cornfield. Ch 2
(b) Accidental discovery in a jungle. Ch 4
(c) A pool into which an injured bird falls. Ch 13
(d) By a gate to a farmer's house. Ch 14

3. Other

(a) A heavy, golden paint brush is given in a dream. Ch 1A
(b) The land of the fairies up near the Sun Mountain. Ch 3

4. The element is lacking or unspecified. Ch 10, Ch 15

B. Nature and power of the magic object

1. An animal

(a) Magic white chicken which changes into daughter of the dragon king. Ch 1B
(b) Magic scale of a white dragon horse which helps the hero to prophesy and do miracles. Ch 14

2. Vegetable

(a) A magic gourd which produces things. Ch 1B, Ch 12
(b) A carrying pole able to support great weight. Ch 2
(c) A beautiful brocade which transformed into a beautiful estate. Ch 3
(d) A magic leaf which heals or revives the dead. Ch 4
(e) A magic pod which produces things. Ch 10
(f) A branch. Ch 10
(g) A seed which produces a magic melon filled with gold. Ch 13

3. Mineral

(a) A magic gold piece which reproduces itself. Ch 10
(b) An animal of jade with magic powers. Ch 10
(c) A wishing stone which produces things. Ch 11

4. Other

(a) A magic paint brush which draws objects so realistically that they come to life. Ch 1A
(b) A magic pot. Ch 10
(c) A dog's dish. Ch 10
(d) A grinder which produces salt or rice. Ch 10
(e) A magic spring or fountain in a house. Ch 15

IV. Elements Subjected to Change in the Versions (The frequency oɪ these items in a version is noted within parentheses)

A. Aspects of the hero and his relations with others

1. Relations with parents

(a) Hero disappoints parents. Ch 11
(b) Hero and/or brothers are decent, obedient sons. Ch 11, Ch 3 (2)
(c) Hero respects parents. Ch 14, Ch 1B
(d) Hero has lost one or both parents. Ch 14, Ch 1A, Ch 3, Ch 4, Ch IB, Ch 2
(e) Hero and mother invite others to live with them. Ch 3 (2)

2. Relations with wives or kin

(a) Generous to wife or kin. Ch 11(2), Ch 14
(b) Poor provider for family. Ch 11(3)
(c) Hero's kin are helped by neighbours. Ch 3
(d) Hero marries princess and lives very happily. Ch 3

3. Relations with others

(a) Hero is helpful. Ch 12(2), Ch 4(5)
(b) Hero gains respect of others. Ch 4
(c) Hero is akin to and helps those who are socially and economically oppressed. Ch 4(14), Ch 1A(4)
(d) Hero prefers company of humble people to rich people. Ch 1A, Ch 4(13)

4. Superhuman traits of hero

(a) Hero performs acts of heroism. Ch 12
(b) Hero capable of bravery. Ch 12, Ch 3(4)
(c) Hero learns quickly becomes an expert fast. Ch 1B, Ch 1A (2)
(d) Hero has super strength. Ch 3

5. Admirable traits of hero

(a) Hero's talents or wisdom admired. Ch 11, Ch 14
(b) Hero is exceptionally industrious. Ch 4, Ch 2(2), Ch 1B, Ch 3(3), Ch 1A (3)
(c) Hero achieves economic freedom. Ch 2

(d) Hero avoids temptations. Ch 3(3)
(e) Hero achieves wealth, power and success. Ch 14, Ch 12
(f) Hero is compassionate towards birds and animals. Ch 1B(3), Ch 4(3), Ch 13
(g) Hero avoids trouble. Ch 4
(h) Hero is very tolerant. Ch 4

6. Ignoble traits

(a) Suspected doer of evil. Ch 11
(b) Lazy. Ch 11(2)
(c) Hero learns ignoble trade. Ch 11(2)
(d) Hero shows fear or cowardice. Ch 11, Ch 12(4)
(e) Hero shows traits of slovenliness. Ch 11, Ch 14
(f) Hero becomes homesick. Ch 11, Ch 12
(g) Heroine unable to surmount poverty. Ch 13

7. Other

(a) Hero comes of poor circumstances. Ch 13, Ch 1B, Ch 4, Ch 1A, Ch 2
(b) Hero is silent and dreamy, a thinker. Ch 14
(c) Hero seeks ideas to act upon. Ch 1B
(d) Hero has keen sense of social justice. Ch 1B(4), Ch 1A(8), Ch 4
(e) Hero is easily moved to tears by kindness shown him. Ch 4

8. The element is lacking or unspecified. Ch 10, Ch 15

B. Aspects of government and authority

1. Emperors

(a) Good emperors. Ch 12(4), Ch 14(3)
(b) Wicked, arrogant, greedy emperors. Ch 1A (15), Ch 1

2. Wicked, cowardly, malicious princes. Ch 1B(11)

3. Magistrates

(a) Wicked magistrates. Ch 1A(20)
(b) Good magistrates. Ch 12(3)

4. Haughty, inconsiderate schoolmaster, Ch 1A

5. Princesses

(a) Princess as love object married by hero. Ch 4(10), Ch 12(4)
(b) Helpful princesses. Ch 12(4), Ch 4(6)

6. The element is lacking or unspecified. Ch 10, Ch 13, Ch 15

C. Aspects of Religion

1. Divine power

(a) Reverence for gods shown by hero. Ch 11(4), Ch 12(7), Ch 14(17)
(b) Help given by humans to gods. Ch 1B(9), Ch 12(2), Ch 14(17)

(c) Gods visited by hero. Ch 12, Ch 1B
(d) Gods entertain hero. Ch 12(11), Ch 3(9)
(e) Gods are encountered. Ch 12(8)
(f) Gods are entertained by hero. Ch 14(22), Ch 1B(12)
(g) Goddesses help hero. Ch 1B(26)

2. Diverse aspects

(a) Woman rewarded for her godliness. Ch 15
(b) A saint gives magic object to the girl. Ch 10
(c) Heroine thanks Heaven for gift. Ch 13

3. Magic or chance

(a) Magic cow. Ch 2(11)
(b) Birds and animals. Ch 13(4), Ch 4(5)
(c) Others. Ch 4(17), Ch 3(4)

C. Other aspects

1. Nature of "good" art

(a) Lifelike or photographic in quality. Ch 3(14), Ch 1A(10)
(b) Purpose to create happiness. Ch 1B(2), Ch 3(3)

2. Prodigal siblings are punished

(a) Elder brothers are shamed. Ch 1B(3), Ch 3(15)
(b) Elder sister is driven away by the people. Ch 4(9)

3. Country life is depicted as idyllic ; city life is evil. Ch 2(2), Ch 3(4)

V. Other Aspects of the Tales

A. Means by which the magic object is received

1. Good deeds

(a) Saved life of golden carp. Ch 1B
(b) Heroic effort and bravery. Ch 3
(c) Saves life of white dragon who is caught beneath a pagoda. Ch 12
(d) Nurses bird back to health. Ch 13

2. Gifts

(a) A gift. Ch 1A
(b) A reward for beautiful singing. Ch 11
(c) A reward for courtesy shown by hero. Ch 14

3. Accident

(a) Carrying pole accidentally catches some of the magic cow's hairs. Ch 2
(b) Accidental discovery of magic leaf. Ch 4

4. The element is lacking or unspecified. Ch 10, Ch 15

B. Means by which the magic object is lost

1. Carelessness

(a) Misplaced. Ch 10

(b) Perishes due to carelessness. Ch 10
(c) Given away by mistake. Ch 10

2. Taken away

(a) Stone flutters off and sinks beneath the sea. Ch 11
(b) Sinks into the sea from a ship when used by a foreigner. Ch 10

3. Other

(a) Buried out of fear of robbers; object is lost. Ch 10
(b) Object floods the city and is inundated. Ch 10
(c) Spring floods the house when damp straw is removed. Ch 15

B. Punishments meted to the evil

1. Kinds of punishments

(a) Drowning of wicked emperor and his ministers. Ch 1A
(b) Burning to death of wicked magistrate and his flunkies. Ch 1B
(c) Covetous elder sister is driven from village. Ch 4
(d) Gift of money and magic object is taken away from the older brother.
(e) Grasping busybody is doomed to poverty. Ch 13

2. The element is lacking or unspecified. Ch 2, Ch 3, Ch 10, Ch 12, Ch 14, Ch 15

C. Animals

1. Fish

(a) Fish swallows moon blossoms. Ch 10
(b) Beautiful golden carp. Ch 1B

2. Birds

(a) White chicken, daughter of dragon king. Ch 1B
(b) Crow which is revived from the dead. Ch 4
(c) Bird which leaves magic seed. Ch 13

3. Animals

(a) Magic cow. Ch 2
(b) Herd of ninety-nine cows. Ch 2
(c) Tiger which is revived from the dead. Ch 4
(d) Peacocks, leopards and other animals revived from the dead. Ch 4
(e) Dog which volunteers to climb to the moon. Ch 4
(f) Horse, and team of mules produced by gourd. Ch 12
(g) White horse of dragon youth. Ch 14

4. Other

(a) Monsters. Ch 1B
(b) Huge snakes guarding princess. Ch 12

5. The element is lacking or unspecified. Ch 11, Ch 15

Analysis of the versions

Both the versions of group A and the versions of group B exhibit some apparent similarities. First, a large number of the tales from both groups have been rewritten in order to make them readable. Rather than recording oral narrative with textual fidelity, some versions of group B have been revised to improve their literary worth and make them more pleasing to the public. Some of these, such as *Chinese Village Folk Tales,* or *Popular Chinese Tales,* have been gathered in order to dramatize the efforts or promote the cause of such institutions as the Fukien Children's Home in Foochow, China, or to promote a scholarship fund. The versions of group B are assumed to be largely traditional in content because they antedate the Communist regime in China. But the versions of group A are enigmatic, for they have been obviously revised greatly and lack any explanatory remarks except that occasionally a version will conclude with the names of the individuals who illustrated and who adapted the tale. Beyond this only one other item of information can be found about the tales and that, isolated in small print at the back of the title page, is the printed volume's source : the People's Republic of China. Thus, the modest editing of some versions in group B contrasts the extreme adaptations of the texts of group A, whose complete lack of scholarly notation demands careful analysis to determine the extent and the direction of the textual meddling.

A superficial similarity is observable in the description of the hero in the versions of the two groups. While group B's hero may be a youth, a good woman, or a man who may obtain the magic object, in group A the hero is almost invariably a youth. While the youth in the versions of group B may come from an impoverished or humble environment, versions of group A take special pains to note and to emphasize that the hero comes from exceptionally impoverished circumstances and tends to have been orphaned of one or both parents. Both groups' versions depict the hero as an intelligent youth, but a difference in kinds of intelligence is noted. While in group B's versions the hero is a thinker, he is apt to be a silent, dreamy and passive person. But the versions of group A describe a hero who is clever, witty rather than wise, and whose ideas are intended for action, ideas by which he can alleviate the poverty or the hardships of others as well as himself. While the youths of both versions exhibit social consciousness or loyalty to kindred, these traits are channeled in quite opposite directions. For example, the hero of group B is quite likely to be obedient to his parents, to follow their wishes and commands, and to obey the precepts of the social system within which he lives. But since the hero of group A lacks one or both parents, his filial obligations are transferred to the society about him, a society consisting usually of the socially and economically deprived masses ; indeed, he usually identifies himself as part of the proletariat. As if to emphasize this aspect of the social status of the hero of group A, he is moved easily to tears whenever anyone shows him kindness despite his pitiable state, for he shares the hardships of the humble and the suppressed.

In the versions from both groups, a third apparent similarity is observable in the inequity of unjust acts, in parental requests, or the acts of kindness or reverence which motivate the action in the tales. While in group B the hero acts to alleviate certain hardships which confront him, the cause of the hardship tends to be stock characters such as a wicked step-mother, or an older brother. But in group A the hero's misfortunes are inextricably bound up in the inequities which separate the social classes, inequities caused by evil, cruel rulers who suppress and torment his proletariat kindred as well as himself. While the hero of group B is well-mannered in his dealings with others and is at times an obedient son, he is sometimes a disappointment to his parents. But in group A the hero is never a disappointment to his parent, if she is still alive, but is extremely exemplary in his actions. In addition, the hero's social-mindedness is depicted not by specific acts of kindness, such as aiding a ruler in distress, but by very general traits of helpfulness to the poor, such as dispatching an evil emperor or magistrate in the name of justice. Thus, while individuals may symbolize the source of distress to the hero of group B, his distress exists with but is not caused by the established system of law and order, as in group A.

In the tales of this study, a fourth similarity is the acquisition of a magic object. Both groups' versions note that the hero comes into possession of the magic object through good or heroic deeds, but the source or the giver of the magic object is subject to some variation. In group B the versions agree generally that the magic object is a reward or a gift which is given by a god, either the dragon king or his son. In this instance, the hero behaves most circumspectly in the presence of the deity and shows proper reverence. The hero of group A may also receive a magic object as a gift or reward from the dragon king. However, the hero of group A tends to treat the gods as equals, for he lacks reverence for them. Unlike group B where the magic object's powers seem divine in origin, the elements of chance or the fanciful are obvious in group A, for the hero happens often to find the magic object. Here, an accidental discovery of a magic leaf, or the accidental entrapment of hairs from a magic cow onto the carrying pole of the hero occur. Even such magical creatures as fairies assist the hero in his search for a missing and very beautiful brocade.

A fifth seeming similarity in the versions of both groups A and B is the nature and power of the magic object. Both groups agree that the magic object is familiar, even commonplace. Both groups tend to identify the magic object as vegetable in composition, such as a magic gourd or a magic leaf; also, other objects are noted such as a wishing stone, a magic pot, or a grinder. In versions of group B the magic object's powers improve the hero's fortunes and welfare; indeed, he may arise to wealth, power, and fame. However, in versions of group A, the magic token is used not for the hero solely, but more to alleviate the hunger and suffering of the impoverished masses. For example, the hero receives a golden, magic paintbrush which has the power to paint objects which are so realistic that they actually spring to life ; the object is employed to produce needed articles, such as clothing, tools, or food for the poor. Or, another version from group A notes that the hero uses a magic leaf to revive the dead and heal the sick of a poor village, actions which bring him much respect. Thus, in group B the hero receives the magic object as the result of exceptional talents, and uses it for his own purposes, his own advancement ; but the hero of group A uses the magic object not for himself, but for the improvement of his impoverished fellows.

But the two groups of tales are dissimilar in several important aspects, foremost of which is the relation of the hero to the secondary characters. First, group A deliberately stresses the impoverished, socially downtrodden status of the hero and his identification with the so-called socially and economically enslaved masses as has already been noted. Second, the main actor of group A tends to be a good son, a joy to his mother, or step-mother if he has one. Responsible, he cares for his parent's needs and seeks to satisfy her desires. Third, the hero is exemplary in that wives and kin are treated well, for he is hardworking and thrifty. Fourth, the main actor is helpful, but usually his assistance is reserved only for the socially and economically oppressed. Indeed, the hero prefers the company of humble people to that of the wealthy. Fifth, the main actor of group A often exhibits some amazing traits and talents in that he has superhuman qualities ; he learns merely by observing, and acquires an expert occupational skill, such as fishing or painting, quickly. When the need arises, the main character performs heroic, or brave deeds. Sixth, the main actor of group A is admirable in all respects, repugnant in no respect. Not only is he admired for his exceptional industriousness by which he achieves economic freedom, but he is virtuous as well. The hero is admired for his compassion towards birds and animals, his tolerance, his attempts to avoid trouble if possible, and his chaste avoidance of temptation. Thus, the hero in group A is entirely admirable, but his virtues and goodness exceed the human dimension and make him seem less of a real person with whom listeners might identify themselves ; he is the ideal in manners and morality.

In the versions of group B, by contrast, the hero is quite human and thus is burdened with human faults and failings. First, although of humble origins, the main actor of group B is not necessarily identified with the poor, the lower classes. Second, the hero tends to be less of a good son to his parents ; quite human, he may disappoint them by acquiring a frivolous occupation. Third, in group B the main actor tends to be less exemplary in his treatment of wife and kin. Although generous when he has the means, at other times he may be a poor provider for his wife, and a disgrace to his brothers. Fourth, the hero of group B is helpful but, rather than confining his efforts to any particular social class, he helps those in need, regardless of class or station. Also, the main actor does not bind his aspirations to the lower classes, preferring to remain with them always ; instead, the hero seeks to achieve higher status within his social system. Fifth, in group B the main actor may perform heroic deeds and acts of bravery, but he is mortal and is thus subject to mortal weaknesses, doubts and fears. As a result, the hero may be lazy, slovenly, unable to surmount poverty, and in time of danger may show fear or cowardice. But he does overcome these human failings to accomplish the heroic. Sixth, the hero of group B achieves an admirable goal for, despite his human failings, he may finally achieve wealth, power and success. Thus, in group B the main actor tends to be very human in his strengths and weaknesses, but he does perform great deeds and achieves finally a tangible, commonly desired goal. As a result, the hero of group B may have more immediacy, more charactristics with which the average listener to such a tale might identify himself.

Another dissimilarity between the two groups is their view about the established system of law and order, for the versions of group A belabor several aspects greatly. First, whereas in group B emperors are depicted in favorable terms, as good and humane, group A depicts them in negative terms. Not only are emperors wicked, but they are arrogant and, worst of all, greedy at the expense of poor people. Secondly, while group B makes no mention of princes, group A notes at length that princes are wicked, cowardly, and malicious. Third, while magistrates are portrayed as good and honest men in group B, group A portrays them as a vicious lot of bullies who do not hesitate to kill their victims and, worse, are greedy wife-stealers. Fourth, even schoolmasters are haughty and inconsiderate in group A. But in groups A and B princesses are favorably depicted for they are sought after and won in marriage by the hero. Group A is notable for its portrayal of the "proper" princess, one who is solicitous of the welfare of an old blind woman, brings food, and walks over from the palace to help the blind woman with the heavier tasks about her rude hut. Finally, while versions of group B tend to depict ruling classes in a favorable, even admirable light, the versions of group A describe emphatically the evil, greed and other wickedness of the ruling class which is responsible for the downtrodden state of the peasants or lower classes. Often the conclusion of these versions notes the fitting, horrible deaths by which evil rulers are justly punished.

Still another dissimilarity is the role of religion in the versions of the two groups. First, religion is an obvious and important factor in group B, for the hero is likely to encounter supernatural beings or gods, and he acquires the magic object as a reward or gift for his helpfulness to or reverent actions toward gods. But while group B emphasizes the hero's reverence for the gods, in group A the hero meets gods not with reverence, but deals with them as one among equals. In this respect the hero of group A is more likely to help gods who are in trouble, or to entertain gods and goddesses. Third, unlike versions of group B where the magic object has its source with a god, group A often ascribes the discovery of the object to mere chance. The power of the magic object derives from magic or fancy which, when used on ailing animals, heals them, secures their gratitude, and thus assures the hero of aid in time of trouble; indeed, the hero is often helped by friendly animals, but never by the gods. Thus, unlike group B which makes much of religion, there is little place in the versions of group A for the gods. Indeed, group A tends to dispense with religion entirely and instead ascribe events to fate, or to fancy.

In conclusion, exceptional texts of versions of Tale Type 63 from China prior to World War II are not available here as means by which suspect versions might be more exhaustively studied and completely evaluated. And since great numbers of versions or complete collections from each Province are lacking, this study can only point out for future study that a pattern exists now in this Tale from China. Indeed, versions of both groups tend to be smoothly adapted tales about a young man who acquires a magic object. Generally, according to both groups, the object is obtained from a god or by accidental discovery, and it is used for the particular welfare of the hero, or of others. But such similarities in the texts of the two groups are tenuous, for dissimilarities between the texts are much more obvious. Almost entirely unlike more traditional versions, group A stresses the conflict which exists between a cruel and unjust ruling class and its enslaved subjects. The versions of group A tend also to stress the class struggle; their hero, a poor but exceptional person, has a keen, innate sense of social justice which, when violated, makes him an agent of justice, for he helps bring about the downfall of tyranny. And group A tends to ignore religion because the hero, a keen-minded, exemplary, almost superhuman youth, develops his talents fully and these, not the gods, are his strengths, his certainties. Thus, when compared with more traditional narratives, *Folk Tales From China* appear to be thoroughly corrupted texts. The intent of the textual change denies them any inclusion in folk-lore, for their thinly disguised texts seem largely to consist of propaganda.

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The Story of Hir and Ranjha in Indo-Persian Literature

By

S. A. H. Abidi

One of the contributions of Indo-Persian literature has been to widen the scope of Indian stories and to popularize them beyond the sphere of local languages and dialects. For example, it is through Persian that the stories like Sassī Punūn and Hīr Rānjhā have been placed at the disposal of innumerable scholars and readers beyond the Punjāb and Sindh, who would, otherwise, have been deprived of the delicacies of such pleasant, immortal and soul-stirring stories.

The story of Hīr and Rānjhā is the most popular romantic story of the Punjāb, and no less than sixty Punjābī poets have given different versions and interpretations, mystic and otherwise, of the story. The first to write this story in Punjābī was Damodar, while the most notable Punjābī poet who has immortalised it was Wārith Shāh (d. A.H. 1209—10/A.D. 1795). Besides Punjābī, Balha Shāh, Khwāja Ghulām Farīd and Ghulām Muḥd. Balāchamī Mazārī have versified this story in Sarāyākī, Sindhī and Balūchī respectively. In Urdū, English, French and Arabic it has been written by Inshā'allāh Khān Inshā, Sir Richard Temple, Graim de Tassy, DeMello and others. In Persian this story has been written by a number of people.

The Story

A darwīsh related the beauty of Hīr to Rānjhā, son of Hazārā's ruler. After his father's death Rānjhā proceeded to his beloved's land on the bank of the Chanab. Fortunately he sat in Hīr's boat, where Hīr also arrived and both fell in love with each other. Rānjhā began to serve as cowherd to look after the flocks of Hīr's father. Hīr's uncle seeing their love-affair reported the matter to her parents who threw her into confinement and arranged for her marriage. Thus separated from Hīr, Rānjhā met five holy men who consoled him. Hīr was forcibly married to Naurang of Rangpūr. She wrote a letter to Rānjhā, who went to her town in the garb of a yogī, and by a clever rule took her away. The qāḍī, when approached, gave Hīr to Naurang, but later on he took her back from him and entrusted her to Rānjhā.

Bāqī Kulābī

Hayāt jān Bāqī Kulābī, who was the disciple of 'Abdullāh Naqshbandī and who was killed in Jaunpūr in A.D. 1579/A.H. 987 in the rebellion of Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, was the first to narrate the story of Hīr and Rānjhā in Persian mathnawī (2369 couplets).

In Bāqī's story the name of Hīr's lover is given as Dīdū, while that of her husband is Ḥusain. The following lines expose the tyrannical attitude of kings and qāḍis :

Qaḍī ze rahe riyā riyā kard ;
Shah 'adl na kard-u-basjafā Kard.

Sa'īd Sa'īdī

After Kulābī, Sa'īdī wrote the story during the reign of Shāh Jahān (A.H. 1037—1068, A.D. 1628—1658) and named the mathnawī Afsāna'-i-Dilpadh-īr. According to this version the names of the boatman and Hīr's companion are Laddan and Fatta respectively, and those of Hīr's brothers are Reḥān, Batā'ī and Sultān. The names of Hīr's husband and father-in-law are Ṣadar and Kherā. Prof. Bāqar says "Sa'īd has presented his story, which is different from that current in Punjāb. . . The atmosphere is entirely Punjābī. It deals with traditions still popular in our villages."[1] In the following line Hīr asks Sahtī to write to Rānjhā :

Benawis ze ḥālate judā'ī
In chand sukhan ze yāre jānī.

Lā'iq Jaunpūrī

Mir Muḥd. Lā'iq Jaunpūrī has also written Hīr Rānjhā in Persian verse. According to his version the name of the lover of Shahdī, the sister-in-law of Hīr, was Murād. The following lines from this mathnawī portray the beauty of Hīr

Qāmat ze balā kashīdeh qāmat ;
Nai nai ke ' alamat-az qiyaāmat.
Zulfash chu banafsheh tāb khurdeh,
Waz chashma'-i-Khiḍr āb Khurdeh.

Mītā Chanābī

Mītā Chanābī, son of Hakīm Darwīsh, wrote Hīr Rānjhā in A.H. 1110/A.D. 1698—9 and named it Ishqiya'-i-Punjāb or Qiṣṣa'-i-Hīr-u-Māhī. It was completed in Kot Kamālia in the district of Montogomery and presented to Maḥābbat Khān. The poet hates the Indian style poets.

Faryād azīn khyālbandān ;
Sang-i-rah-i-fikr balkeh sandān.

A few lines are quoted to show the style and power of Chanābī :

Mulk-i-gham-i-'ishq dar nagīnash ;
Bar masnad-i-Qais jānashīnash

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[1] Punjābī Qisse Fārsī Zabān Men, Lahore, vol. 2. p. 52.

Sham 'ats-u-faragh-i-mahrukhan ast;
In waqt-i-khiramish-i-butān ast.

Gurdās Khattrī

Gurdās Khattrī of Sanktra wrote this story in Persian prose[2] between A.H. 1112 and 1121/A.D. 1701—1709.

Faqīrullāh Āfrīn

Shāh Faqīrullāh Āfrīn Lāhorī (d. A.H. 1154/A.D. 1741) wrote the story in A.H. 1143/A.D. 1730—31 and named it Nāz-u-Nayaz.[3] According to this version the hero was the son of Mu'iz or Mu'izzuddīn. Prof. Bāqar says, "Āfrin's language is complicated and the narrative lacks coherence."[4] The author of the Sarw-i-Āzād met Āfrin in A.H. 1143/A.D. 1730—31 in Lāhore and so he writes, "At this time he was versifying the story of Hīr and Rānjhā. A part of it he recited to me."[5] The poet portrays the beauty of Hīr in the following way :

Parīzād dukhtī girāmī nazhād;
Hayā banda'-i-'ismatash khāneh zād.

Hīr takes a number of oaths to satisfy Rānjhā about her loyalty :

Basaudāy-i-zulf-i-parīshān-i-yār;
Bashab gardiy-i-shawq-i-bī ikhtiyar.

Yaktā

Nawāb Aḥmad Yār Khān Yaktā Gurgānī Dehlavī, son of Allāhyār Khān, the governor of the Punjab, was placed in charge of Thattha, but after two years returned home, where he died in A.H. 1147/A.D. 1734-5. Besides being a poet, he was a master of painting and calligraphy. He wrote the story in Persian Mathnawī[6] between A.H. 1118 and 1147. It consists of 1278 couplets and begins with the following:—

Ān zabānī ki manja'-i-Khūn ast;
Mash'al-i-nur-i-hand-i-bīchūn ast.

The poet praises the Punjāb and Lāhore and the heroes of the story :

Īik lāhore ḥusn-i-mahbūbist;
yūsufistān-i-'alam-i- khūbīst

He describes how Hīr came to Rānjhā:

Ashk rizān banīzd-i-Hīr āmad;
Bar dar-i-shāh dil asīr āmad.

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[2] Mathnawiyāt-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, Karāchī, p. 30.
[3] Matba' Afghānī, Amritsar, A.H. 1319;
[4] Punjābi Qisse Fārsī Zabān Men, Vol. 1, p. 158.
[5] Sarw-i-Āzad, p. 205.
[6] Dāstān-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, Matba 'Mufīd-i'Ām, Lāhore, A.H. 132; MS. No. 4/17, Aligarh.

and Rānjhā told her the reason of his going over there, and so he became sad and distracted.

Khwāst ta sīneh rā chaman sāzad ;
Az gul-i-zakhm anjuman sāzad.

Hīr declined to give her consent to the qāḍī, but when the latter gave her to the husband, Rānjhā began to abuse him :

Haqq-i-mārā badigarī dādī ;
Bāz az zulm-i-khīshtan rāḍī.

and the qāḍī replied :

Anche kardam baman makun nafrīn ;
Chekunam hast shar‘ ‘zāhir būn,

According to this version, Rānjhā and Hīr went on pilgrimage to Baghdād and Karbalā. At the end the poet describes his own miserable condition, and says that he wrote the story at the instance of somebody. According to Prof. Baqar, this story is nearly the same as that told by Afrīn.

Khushābī

Mansā Rām Khushābī wrote this story in A.H. 1157/A.D. 1744 in Persian prose and perhaps also in poetry.[7]

Qamaruddīn Minnat

Mīr Qamaruddin Minnat Dehlawī, the preceptor of Gunnā Begum,[8] died in Calcutta in A.H. 1208/A.D. 1793—4. He used to compose verses both in Urdu and Persian. He is the author of a number of books including Qiṣṣa'-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā.

The mathnawī Hīr-u-Rānjhā was written in A.H. 1197/A.D. 1783, when the poet was forty years old. It is said that Minnat composed his mathnawī at the instance of Richard Johnson,[9] but in the MS. copy of the mathnawī in the Banāras Hindu University (P. IX. 3/153) it is written that Murshid Qulī Khān, the Nāzim of Bengal, asked the poet to versify the story, which is clear from the following words :

Murshid Qulī Khan, nāzim-i-Bangāleh farmā'ish namudeh 13 julūs-i-wālā.

Prof. Baqar gives the year of composition as A.H. 1197, based on the following verse :

Khiradash az sar-i-badī'eh guft
Qiṣṣa'-i-‘ishq-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā gir.

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[7] Mathnawiyāt-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, p. 30.

[8] Gunnā Begum, the daughter of Nawāb ‘Alī ‘Āquil Khāṇ and wife of Wazir ‘Imādul Mulk Ghaziuddīn Khān, died in A.H. 1189/A.D. 1175.

[9] Punjābī Qisse Fārsī Zabān Men, vol. 12, p. 79.

But the Banaras MS. bears the word badiheh in stead of badi'eh ; and in that case the year will be A.H. 1195.

The mathnawī consists of 1119 couplets and begins with the following :

Khudāwandā ṭilism-i-rāz bukshā ;
Baman sirr-i-niyāz-u-naz bukshā.

Prof. Baqar says, "Against the common custom, Minnat has either arranged the details himself or has taken them from Johnson's copy . . . . Minnat . . . has versified the romance of Hīr and Rānjhā in a short but pleasant style. His language is sweet and profound.[10]

Minnat describes beautifully the love of Hīr and Rānjhā and their meeting:

Baham garm-i-niyāz-u-nāz būdand ;
Baham chun jā-u-tan damsāz būdand.

The poet blames the qāḍīs who unite husbands and wives against their wishes :

Sharī'at aā kunand īn qawm-i-azlam
Wasīlat az pay-i-āzār-i-'ālam.

In the following lines the poet has portrayed the beauty of the Punjāb :

Ki zir-i-charkhe gardān ast nāyāb
Zamīnī 'ishq khīzī hamchu Punjāb.

Sardār 'Abdul-Qādir Āfindī has translated the mathnawī of Minnat into English.

Ārām

Munshī Sumunderdās Ārām, at the instance of S. Amīr Bakhsh, completed the story in A.H. 1171/A.D. 1757 and named it Gulshan-i-Rāz-i-Ishqi-u-Wafa[11] Dr. M. Safi' says, "Apparently Ārām is nearer to Muqbil than Wārith Shāh. In my opinion Wārith Shāh is not at all influenced by Ārām."[12] The following lines from this mathnawī portray the rainy season and the swing :

Parī rūyān ki ūrā mī parastand
Baḥukmash gāzeh bar ashjār bastand.

The mother of Hīr advises her :

Dil-i-rangīn-i-tu masti-i-jafā shud ;
Shikast-i-shisha'-i-namūs-i-mā shud.

The marriage procession is described in a charming way.

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[10] Punjābī Qisse Fārsī Zabān Men, vol. 1. 80—81.
[11] Punjābī Qisse Fārsī Zabān Men, vol. 1, p. 167.
[12] Punjābī Qisse Fārsī Zabān Men, vol. 1,p. 185.

'Uṭārid

Munshī Sewak Rām 'Uṭārid Tatvi, the chief secretary of Kalhūrā rulers, began to write the story in Persian prose and named it Maḥabbat Nāmeh[13] or Hīr-Nāmeh, at the instance of Miān M. sārfarāz Khān, but before finishing the work he died in A.H. 1195/A.D. 1781. Later on the work was completed by one named Lā'iq.

'Azīm Tatvī

Mīr 'Azīmuddīn Tatvī, son of yār Muḥd. and nephew of Qāne', was born in A.H. 1163/A.D. 1750 and died in the month of Safar, A.H. 1229/A.D. 1814. He was attached to the Kalhūrā family and after their fall was associated with the Tālpūr family and was the Poet-Laureate of Mīr Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān. He is the author of a number of works including the Mathnawī Hīr Rānjhā[14] (1742 couplets) written in A.H. 1214. It begins:

Yārab az luṭf deh basāghar-i-dil
Bāda'-i-'ishqe rūḥ parwar-i-dil

In writing this mathnawī 'Azīm followed Yaktā. Hafiz writes, "In some of the details it differs from the stories written in Punjābī. At some places he has literally followed Aḥmad Yār Khān Yaktā."[15]

Azim has praised the Punjab, Hazārā, Rānjhā and Hīr. He has bitterly criticised the qāḍis :

Dil-i-t murdeh ast ai murdār ;
Dafn slud zir-i-gumbad-i-dastār.

He thinks that religion is entirely superficial :

Shar'chūn hast sar basar zāhir,
Hukm farmūd shar' bar zāhir.

Ḍiyā

Mīr Ḍiya'uddīn Ḍiya, (d. A. H. 1229/A.D. 1814), brother of Mīr 'Alī Sher Qani' and uncle of Mīr 'Azīmuddīn Tatvī, was a poet in Mīr Thārī Khān's Court. He wrote the mathnawī Hīr Rānjhā[16] (3522 couplets) in A.H. 1215/A.D. 1800, which begins :

Elāhī dharreh ra mehr az karam kun ;
Ba'ishq-i-khāsh mārā chashm nam kin.

Hafiz writes, "The incidents of the story are almost the same as those in the mathnawī of 'Azīm. At some places he has followed Yaktā and has actually borrowed some of his hemistiches."[17] One of Ḍiya's verses is quoted here :

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[13] MS. No. 3/82, Aligarh.

[14] Mathnawiyāt-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, Sindhī, Adibī Board, Karāchī, 1957.

[15] Mathnawiyat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, p. 60.

[16] Mathnawiyat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, p. 65.

Ze sar dastār-u az bar jubba'ī rā
Farūshad mīkharad paimana'ī rā.

Āzād

A poet named Āzād, wrote the mathnawī Hīr Rānjhā[18] (1388 couplets) between A.H. 1216 and 1226 (A.D. 1801—1811). It begins :

Qul huwallah la sharīka lahū ;
Waḥdahū la elaha illā hū.

One of the couplets from the mathnawī is quoted here :

Qissa'-i-Zulf-i-yār bāz kunad ;
Zin ḥikāyat shabī darāz kunad.

Munshī Mohan Dās Malkānī Āzād (A.H. 1175—1240/A.D 1761—824), who became finance minister and secretary during the time of Mīr Mukarram 'Alī Khān and Mīr Murād 'Alī Khān, may be identified with the author of this mathnawī.

Hafīz says, "one has to confess that out of the five mathnawis that by Azad, though incomplete, is the best. The style is clear and lucid. He has mastery over poetry. While dealing with the story he has not lost sight of poetic charm. This mathnawī contains some of the characteristics, possessed by none of the other mathnawis written about Hīr Rānjhā."[19]

The poet in the midst of the story has expounded a number of allegorical stories.

'Alī Beg

'Alī Beg wrote Hīr Rānjhā in Persian prose before A.H. 1220/A.D. 1805.[20]

Laghārī

Nawāb Walī Muḥd Khān Laghārī (d. A.H. 1247/A.D. 1832), son of Ghulām Muḥd Khān Laghārī, who was one of the nobles of the Tālpūr Court, wrote the mathnawī Hīr Rānjhā[21] (1639 couplets) in A.H. 1227/A.D. 1832. Hafīz writes, "The details of the story and its end are in conformity with other mathnawīs . . . In narrating the incidents his mathawī is unnecessarily long. . . From the point of view of poetry he is inferior to

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[17] Mathnawiyat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, p. 65.
[18] Mathnawiyat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā
[19] Mathnawiyat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, p. 31.
[20] Mathnawiyat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, p. 31.
[21] Mathnawiyat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā

'Azīm and Āzād and from the point of view of language he has committed many mistakes."[22] The mathnawī begins :

Ya Elāhi bibakhsh īmāna ;
Az karam dar guzar ze 'isyanam.

One of the lines is given below :

Yūsuf-i-Miṣr ṣad hazār ānjā ;
Ṣad Zulaikhā wa sad nigar anjā.

The poet has mentioned the invasion of Sindh by Maḥmūd Shāh.

'Ibratī

Ibrati 'Azīmābādī wrote the story in Persian prose in A.H. 1252/A.D. 1836 and named it Sirājul-Maḥabbat.[23]

Bedil

Faqir Muḥd, Qādir Bakhsh Bedil (A.H. 1230—1289/A.D. 1814—1872), son of Muḥd. Muḥsin was a great Ṣufi and author of a number of books and had as his pen-name Qādir, Talib and Bedil in Arabic, Persian, Sindhi and Sarāeki. He wrote a long Qaṭ'a about Hīr Rānjhā[24] in A.H. 1293/A.D. 1876. Hafīz says, "Bedil . . . has only described the important episodes of the story in a pleasant way."[25] The Qat'a (90 verses) begins with the following verses :

Ze harche khāmeh nawīsad banāma'-i-daurān
Sawād-i-ḥarf-i-gham-i-'ishq Khushtar ast bagān.

Hindī

Rāi Bahādur Kanhyā Lāl Hindī belonged to Jalesar in the district of Āgra, from where he went to Lāhore, where he became an executive Engineer. Hindi is the author of a number of books including Nigārīn Nāmeh[26] (3941 couplets), a mathnawi describing the story of Hīr and Rūnjhā. It begins :

Elāhī chehra'-i-maqṣūd bekshā ;
Barūy-i-man darī az faiḍ bekshā

Hindī has based his story on that of Wārith Shāh. The poet portrays the beauty of the boatman's wife :

Musāfir parwarī mehman parastī,
Kashūd-i-Qhāṭir har taugats dastī

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[22] Mathnawiat, p. 78.
[23] Asiatic Society, Curzon collection, M.S. No. 314.
[24] Mathnawiat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, Karāchī.
[25] Mathnawiat, p. 87.
[26] Victoria Press, Lahore.

and then describes the beauty of Hīr :

Nazar jadūgarī mardum farībī ;
Rabūdeh az dil-i-'āshiq shakībī.

Prof. Baqar says, "Hindi's verses do not possess any beauty. His poem has become more tasteless since Hindi has tried to translate the Punjābī version."[27] Hafīz writes, "Hindī's mathnawī is devoid of Āfrīn's pathos and Yaktā's fluency, and at some places it contains errors also, but it has the distinction of following Wārith Shāh as much as possible against other mathnawīs."[28]

Besides the above mentioned versions of Hīr Rānjhā, a poet named Fidā'ī or Sāqī has written this story in the form of mathnawī.[29]

Maqbūl Aḥmad, son of Molvi Qudrat Aḥmad Fārūqī Gopāmav, has versified a part of the story in Persian.[30]

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[27] Punjabi Qisse Farsi Zaban Men, Vol. 1. p. 191.
[28] Mathnawiat-i-Hīr-u-Rānjhā, p. 44.
[29] Punjabi Qisse Farsi Zaban Men, Vol. 1. p. 266.
[30] Punjabi Qisse Farsi Zaban Men, Vol. 1. p. 266.

Sources of Ancient Indian Polity "Election of a King": Atharvaveda III 4

By

R. N. DANDEKAR

Introduction

It is usually suggested that the ancient Indian thinker possessed only a 'theological' and 'philosophical' mind. The large amount of ancient Indian literature relating, either directly or indirectly, to political science (Arthaśāstra or Daṇḍanīti) would, however, clearly indicate that he also possessed what may be called a 'political' and 'economic' mind. Indeed, some of the thinkers of ancient India went to the extent of claiming that Arthaśāstra or Daṇḍanīti was the most fundamental of all sciences.[1]

One of the most basic concepts in ancient Indian polity was that of kingship. In the Vedic literature—more particularly, in the *Brāhmaṇas*—we come across various speculations, mostly embodied in mythical legends, about such topics as the origin and nature of kingship, the functions of the king, the types of sovereignty, and the checks on the autocracy of the king. So far as the origin of kingship is concerned, one may distinguish between two main currents of thought. It is pointed out in one of the *Brāhmaṇa* passages that the highest god (Prajāpati) bestowed his own special power upon one of the gods (Indra) and thus enabled him, though a junior, to rule over other gods.[2] There is another significant variation of this theory of the divine origin of kingship. The *Mahābhārata*, for instance, speaks of a state of nature from which Prajāpati rescued the human race by laying down a code of conduct for all people and by creating the institution of kingship.[3] The Great Epic here refers to three distinct stages in the process of the evolution of kingship, namely, (a) the golden age of 'stateless' society, in which there was 'neither kingship nor king, neither sceptre nor the bearer of the sceptre' and in which 'all people protected one another by means of righteous conduct (on the part of each one of them)',[4] (b) the period of decadence characterised by the prevalence of a state of nature,[5] and (c) the divine origination of law and the administrator of law (that is, the king).[6] The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* also seems to hint at a similar origin of law and kingship.[7]

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[1] Cf. *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* 1.2-4, 7. The *Śukranīti*, which is now shown to be a work belonging to the eighteenth century A.D., also glorifies Nītiśāstra in glowing terms (I. 4-19) and seeks to establish the superiority of that science over other sciences.

[2] *TBr.* II.2.10.1-2 ; 7.2.

[3] *MBh.* XII. 59.5, 13-30, 93-94.

It may be incidentally mentioned here that in the Vedic literature there are but very rare references to any divinity attaching to the person of a historical king. In *ṚV* IV.42.9, king Trasadasyu is called *ardha-deva* (half-god), and, in *AV* XX.127.7, parikṣit is referred to as a 'god who is above mortals'. The idea of the personality of a king having been constituted of essential particles derived from different gods was developed, perhaps for the first time, in the *Manusmṛti*.[8]

Three main points need to be noted in connection with the second current of thought relating to the origin of kingship. Firstly, the need for kingship was felt on account of some special urgency such as that of war; secondly, kingship was the result of some kind of election; and, thirdly, the king was expected to fulfil certain obligations to the people.[9] In this theory, which may be described as the theory of the elective origin of kingship, two principles were thus involved—one of election and the other of an implied social contract.

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[4] Being conscious of one's own duties (*dharma*) to oneself and to one's fellow-men and fulfilling these duties conscientiously rendered extraneous agencies, like state or government, unnecessary.

[5] This was, according to the Epic, due to spiritual lassitude and its inevitable consequences. "People did not avoid going to what was not worth going to, nor, similarly, (did they discriminate) between the speakable and the non-speakable, between the edible and the nonedible, and between the right and the wrong. When this world of men had been drowned (in dissipation), all spiritual knowledge (*brahman*) perished; and, on account of the perishing of spiritual knowledge, righteous conduct (*dharma*) also perished."

[6] The self-born lord "composed a work consisting of a hundred thousand chapters . . . wherein were expounded (the principles of) *dharma, artha,* and *kāma* . . . . . Then the gods, having approached Viṣṇu, the lord of the creatures, said : 'Do you, indeed, point out (unto us) a person who alone from among the mortals deserves the highest eminence (by being able to enforce this new code).' Thereupon, having (carefully) thought (for a while), the great lord, god Nārāyaṇa, brought forth a son—constituted of lustre and mind-born—who was called Virajas". Virajas, the first king, was thus of divine origin. The Epic, however, goes on to narrate that Virajas, being of renunciatory tendencies, did not want the overlordship of the earth.

[7] XI. 1.6.24; 1.8.1.1-10.

[8] VII. 4-8.

[9] *ABr.* I.14 narrates the legend of the election of Soma to kingship. It is clearly implied here that kingship had its origin in the expediencies of war. "The gods said (to one another) : 'On account of our kinglessness, indeed, do they (the demons) conquer us; let us make (some one) a king'." A person was chosen a king for his ability to lead people to victory in battles. Though this legend refers to gods and demons, it is safe to assume that it reflects, to a large extent, actual conditions in human history. *ABr.* VIII. 12 gives another version of the theory of the elective origin of kingship. That passage is further important for the different types of state which it mentions (*sāṁrājya, bhaujya, svārājya, vairājya,* etc.) and

Atharvaveda III.4 contains quite an unambiguous reference to the Vedic practice of the election of a king.[10] It does not form part of any mythical legend, but presumably describes actual historical conditions. It would seem that the king was elected not by the whole community, but by a smaller body which constituted what may be called the electoral college. This hymn is important also for some other ideas concerning polity which occur in it.

Text, translation, and notes

आ त्वा गन्राष्ट्रं सह वर्चसोदिहि प्राङ् विशां पतिरेकराट् त्वं वि राज ।
सर्वास्त्वा राजन्प्रदिशो ह्वयन्तूपसद्यो नमस्योऽ भवेह ॥१॥

Unto thee has (this) dominion[1] come[2]; (endowed) with lustre[3], do thou rise; go forward[4] as the lord of the people; as the sole king, do thou rule (mightily).[5] May all the quarters,[6] O king, call thee; worthy of being attended upon and worthy of homage do thou become here.

[1. The word *rāṣṭra* (dominion or kingdom) in this stanza should be clearly distinguished from the word *rājya* (kingship) occurring in the next stanza. Presumably, *rāṣṭra* implies the territory under a king's sovereignty and thus presupposes the transition from the earlier tribal organizations to territorial states. This distinction between *rāṣṭra* and *rājya* would indicate a fairly advanced state of political thinking. 2. as the result of thy election to kingship. 3. *saha varcasā* may be construed either with *ā gan* (injunctive) or with *ud ihi*; the latter is obviously better. 'Being endowed with lustre' must have been one of the reasons for his election. (cf. *TBr.* II.2.10.1-2 where Indra, though junior, is said to have achieved kingship of the gods because he had obtained *haras* or lustre from Prajāpati). 4. The pun on

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for the formulas used for the proclamation of Indra's election to sovereignty (e.g. *dharmasya goptā ajani*).

[10] GRIFFITH characterises this hymn as 'benediction at the election of a king'. WEBER and BLOOMFIELD mention its subject to be 'election of a king', while, according to WHITNEY, its purpose is 'to establish a king'. The *Anukramaṇī* mentions Atharvan as the Ṛṣi of this hymn. This is obviously conventional and has no historical significance. The *devatā* of the hymn is said to be Indra perhaps because his name is mentioned in st. 6 (but Varuṇa and some other gods are also mentioned), but more probably because Indra had come to be recognised as the symbol of Vedic kingship. Indeed, Indra was himself elected to kingship by gods (*ABr.* VIII.12). The *Kauśika-Sūtra* considers *AV* III. 3 and 4 together, so far as their ritual employment is concerned. This is strange, for, while the subject-matter of III.3 is the 'restoration' of a king who was in exile or was driven out of his kingdom by a rival, that of III. 4 is clearly 'election' of a king. The *Vaitāna-Sūtra* 13.2 employs the last stanza of the hymn—obviously in a farfetched manner—in Agniṣṭoma in connection with oblations to Pathyā Svasti and other divinities.

the words *ud ihi* and *prāṅ* may be noted. 5. The metre is sought to be regularised variously by omitting *ud ihi* or *prāṅ* or *patir* or *vi rāja.* 6. perhaps implying the various sections of the community or the various parts of the dominion.]

त्वां विशो वृणतां राज्याय त्वामिमाः प्रदिशः पञ्च देवीः ।
वर्ष्मन्राष्ट्रस्य ककुदि श्रयस्व ततो न उग्रो वि भजा वसूनि ॥२॥

Thee may the people choose for kingship[1] ; thee (may) these quarters, the five goddesses[2] (choose). In the exalted position, at the pinnacle of the dominion, do thou remain secure ; from there[3], do thou, formidable, distribute treasures among us[4].

[1. This is one of the unequivocal references in the Vedic literature to the election of a king. 2. This reminds us of *pañca janāḥ.* 3. or, then. 4. This probably refers to the distribution of booty won in battles. Kingship in ancient times often had its origin in conditions of warfare, which demanded a captain of war (as king) to lead the people.]

अच्छ त्वा यन्तु हविनः सजाता अग्निर्दूतो अजिरः सं चरातै ।
जायाः पुत्राः सुमनसो भवन्तु बहुं बलि प्रति पश्यासा उग्रः ॥३॥

Unto thee may the kinsmen[1] come calling (thee) ; may agile Agni go along (with them) as messenger.[2] May the wives (and) the sons be well-inclined (towards thee) ;[3] thou, formidable, shalt see much tribute[4] (come to thee).

[1. *sajātāḥ*=kinsmen. In early Vedic times different clans, whose members claimed descent from a common ancestor, formed themselves into small states or cantons and elected their kings. *Sajātāḥ* might also denote members of certain families within the clan, who alone were entitled to elect and be elected kings. 2. This is presumably indicative of a part of the ritual which usually accompanied the election of a king. Agni as witness. (For Agni as messenger, see : DANDEKAR, "Some aspects of the Agni-mythology in the Veda", *JOIB* 11, 347-370.) 3. This reference is not quite clear. Perhaps it implies that the newly elected king often sought the concurrence and cooperation of the members of his family. Or, is it suggested (which is not likely) that, while the adult males in the community (*sajātāḥ*) actually made the election (*havinaḥ yantu*), the female members and the minors (*jāyāḥ putrāḥ*) were also required to acquiesce ? 4. *bali* seems to have included the king's receipts from his subjects as well as from the conquered kings. It is not unlikely that *bali* originally represented a voluntary offering to the king by the subjects. In later times, it assumed the character of a compulsory payment or tax (cf. *ABr.* VII.29).]

अश्विना त्वाग्रे मित्रावरुणोभा विश्वे देवा मरुतस्त्वा ह्वयन्तु ।
अधा मनो वसुदेयाय कृणुष्व ततो न उग्रो वि भजा वसूनि ॥४॥

May the two Aśvins (call) thee first, (may) Mitra and Varuṇa both, (may) Viśve Devas, (may) the Maruts call thee[1]. Then do thou make up thy mind for the giving of wealth ; then do thou, formidable, distribute treasures among us.

[1. The various gods are called upon to approve of and bless the election.]

आ प्र द्रव परमस्याः परावतः शिवे ते द्यावापृथिवी उभे स्ताम् ।
तदयं राजा वरुणस्तथाह स त्वायमह्वत्स उपेदमेहि ॥५॥

Do thou hurry up hither from the farthest distance.[1] May heaven and earth, both, be propitious unto thee. Thus did this king Varuṇa ordain it ;[2] he here called thee ; such (as thou art), do thou come to this (place).

[1. This obviously refers to the person having been engaged on the war-front before he was elected king. He proved his mettle on the battlefield and was, therefore, called back to be formally elected king. It is not very likely that the allusion is to the king's having been in exile, though it must have been on account of these words that this hymn was connected —wrongly—with the preceding hymn (cf. foot-note 10). 2. Varuṇa (*asura, saṁrāt*) was the divine prototype of kingship, and was, therefore, believed to be controlling all matters relating to human kingship, such as the election of a new king. A pun on the word *varuṇa* is evidently intended in this context. *Varuṇa* (from the root *vṛ*—to choose) seems to denote also the group of electors (personified). So god Varuṇa was responsible for the election in one sense, and the electorate (*varuṇa*) in another.]

इन्द्रेन्द्र मनुष्या३ः परेहि सं ह्यज्ञास्था वरुणैः संविदानः ।
स त्वायमह्वत्स्वे सधस्थे स देवान्यक्षत्स उ कल्पयाद्विशः ॥६॥

O Indra, Indra ! In human form,[1] do thou come hither ; for, thou hast agreed, being concordant with the *varuṇas* (electors).[2] He[3] here has called thee in his own domain,[4] (thinking) : "He[5] shall offer sacrifices unto the gods ; he, indeed, shall organize (and enforce order among) the people."[6]

[1. I read *manuṣyaḥ* (sing). A king was Indra in human form. What Indra was to gods, a king was to the human tribes. It is also possible to understand *manuṣyāḥ* as an adjective (fem. acc. pl.) qualifying a word like *viśaḥ* (to be supplied). The meaning in that case would be : O Indra, Indra ! Do thou come hither unto (these) human (tribes) (in the form of the newly elected king). 2. A pun on the word *varuṇa* is intended also in this context. It would seem that the king was elected not by the whole clan or tribe, but by certain elders of the clan, who constituted the electoral college and who are here referred to as *varuṇas* or electors (cf. *sajātāḥ* above). In another sense, Varuṇas may mean 'Varuṇa and other gods', who had made Indra their king. To read *varṇaiḥ* (=social orders ?) for *varuṇaiḥ* is not convincing. 3. =*varuṇaḥ*. 4. Two distinct currents of thought seem to have been mixed up in this reference. He= Varuṇaḥ (sing.), that is, God Varuṇa ; or the (personified) electoral college (see note 2 on st. 5 above). The author of this stanza seems to have in mind the mythological phenomenon of Varuṇa's having made place for Indra as the chief god of the Vedic pantheon in the course of the evolution of Vedic mythology (cf. DANDEKAR, "Some aspects of Vedic mythology : Evolutionary mythology", *UCR* 12, 1-23). Just as god Varuṇa had brought in god Indra, so too did *varuṇa* (= the electorate) bring in this king who was Indra in human form. 5. = the newly elected king. 6. The principal duties of a king are succinctly mentioned here.]

पंथ्या रेवतीर्बहुधा विरूपाः सर्वाः संगत्य वरीयस्ते अक्रन् ।
तास्त्वा सर्वाः संविदाना ह्वयन्तु दशमीमुग्रः सुमना वशेह ॥७॥

The rich divinities of the roads,[1] of manifoldly varied forms, all, coming together, have made wide room for thee. May they all, concordant, call thee ; up to the tenth (decade of thy life)[2] do thou rule[3] here, formidable (yet) benevolent.[4]

[1. This mention explains the *viniyoga* of this stanza laid down in the *Vaitāna-Sūtra*. 2. Vināyaka commenting on *Śāṅkhāyana-Brāhmaṇa* 13.3 says : *śarīre ṣad avasthāḥ, bālaḥ, pogaṇḍaḥ., kumāraḥ, taruṇaḥ, vṛddhaḥ, daśamī iti vaidyakoktāḥ*. 3. The reading *vasa* (for *vaśa*) is not satisfactory. 4. These two words seem to denote the essence of the character of an ideal Vedic king.]

Varadaksina, Its Rise and Results

By

T. P. Meenakshisundaran

I

Introduction

Varadakṣiṇā is literally the present given to the bridegroom. But in modern times, it means the price demanded by the bridegroom for marrying a girl. Because the daughter in a family, except under rare conditions inherit any share of the paternal property this was considered to do justice to the girls. Once upon a time, this was willingly given. But whenever there is a scarcity for bridegrooms of the right kind chosen generally by the parents of marriageable girls, the ordinary laws of the market in economics begin to work and Varadakṣiṇā, euphemistically so called, goes up in this marriage market when the parents of a girl naturally desire that their daughter should be married to a highly educated young man, well placed in life with secured, gazetted or other high appointment. There is a demand from the prospective bridegroom for not only jewels and modern conveniences like motor cars, but also for immovable properties and ready cash going up to many thousands. The poorer parents and their daughters naturally have no place in this market and therefore follow all the miseries of their life.

II

LITERARY SOURCES

Earlier Times : Bride-Price

It will be therefore of interest to know what was the condition of affairs at earlier times in the Tamil Land. In the idealised love of the Sangam age love alone is the basis of human life. But we also get a picture of a still earlier tradition where some consolation amount termed milk-money, which may also be called nursing-fees, was paid probably to the mother who nursed her daughter with her own milk. The term *mulaip-pāl paṇam* referring to this nursing money is often referred to even now during the marriage of non-Brahmins. There is reason to believe that the payment demanded from the bridegroom was something more than the nominal fee.

The implied contrast between the love-nexus and cash-nexus is suggested in some of the *Caṅkam* verses. The hero or the lover goes in search of wealth to foreign countries before the marriage is effected. There are poets who will impliedly condemn a demand for a high bride-price which leads to the temporary separation of the lovers and the consequent miseries. Other poets visualise the hero undertaking this venture for amassing wealth in the cause of a domestic life of love and service which is possible only with the resources of wealth. It will be seen that here it is the bridegroom and not the bride who pays the price. The supply then of brides in the marriage market must have been much below the demand therefor.

Love-Nexus Vs. *Cash-Nexus*

Though the eight forms of vedic marriage are hinted in Tolkāppiyam are explained at length only in the latter commentaries. But the marriages of ancient Tamil Land can be brought under two heads, (1) the marriage based on love and (2) the marriage based on other considerations. Even marriage ostensibly based on other considerations are said to be ultimately based on pre-marital love. In *Kalittokai* we have the shepherds winning their lady love by *swayamvara* i.e. by controlling the bull. Even when bride-money is paid, the poets are anxious to show that the marriage is really based on pre-marital love. This is the tradition which *Kampan* follows when he makes *Rama* and *Sita* love and pine for each other even before the *swayamvara* of the bow takes place.

Asura Marriage

It is this kind of *swayamwara* that is looked upon as *asura* form of marriage even by the later day commentators like Iḷmpūraṇar and Naccinārkkiniyar. [Iḷam. Comm. P. 160. T.P.] [Nacci. Comm. P. T.P.] Whereas the Hindu lawyers hold that the form of marriage where money is paid is an asura form of marriage.

The ancient Tamilians emphasised two great ideals, one of love and the other the readiness for a heroic sacrifice in the performance of duty.

Dharma Vs. *Money*

Therefore we have two great forms of marriage, the marriage based on love and the marriage based on heroism. The eight forms of marriage mentioned in *Smṛti* can also be divided into two clauses, one based on *dharma* and the other where considerations other than *dharma* have a place. The wife is praised therefore as dharma-patni. If the fundamental basis of this Universe is Love, then Dharma can be equated with this idealised Love. The emphasis in this smṛti is on *Kanyā dāna,* or the gift of a virgin to a proper man ; in the *gāndharva* form the *Kanyā* herself gives her away. When money is received it becomes not a gift but a sale.

Sale

It is curious that the Tamil commentators call the *ārṣa* form of marriage has *poruḷkōḷ* literally "receipt of money" or "the sale of the bride". Of course the price is, as in the case of the milk-money, nothing more than the gift of two cows or bulls. When a bride is given away as a dharmic gift in the Brahma form of marriage she is decked with jewels and given away. This is the seed of what has developed as dowry and later on as *varadakṣiṇā*.

Pariyam

The betrothal ceremony is called in Tamil *pariyam pōṭutal*. *Pariyam* means the gift given by the bridegroom or his family to the bride and this gift itself amounts to the ceremony of betrothal. Amongst some people there is *pariyamaṇi* or a necklace tied round the neck of the bride at the time of the betrothal ceremony. In Cintāmaṇi, a Tamil epic, we find that many bangles have been presented as pariyam; the *sari* presented on that day is called *paricapputavai*, the gifts of love accepted and worn by the prospective bride at the betrothal. The phrase *pariyam pōṭutal*, "to put on or to make the girl wear the gifts" has here come to mean the betrothal. *Pariyam* comes from the root pari, "to covet or be affectionate" and therefore also "to love". *Pariyam* therefore means something given out of love. But the usage is restricted to the gift at the time of the betrothal. In Colloquial Tamil *y* > *c* and *pariam* > *paricam* and this form has misled the Tamil Lexicon to derive the word from the Sanskrit word *sparsa*. It may be noted that both in Malayalam and old Tamil classics the form *pariyam* alone is found. It is this gift which has developed into *varadakṣiṇā* or very high bride-price which is demanded in modern times.

Poets

Poets sometimes laugh at this pariyam and interpret it as the price given for physical embrace. It reminds us of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* speaking of the passionate man embracing a woman, like a prostitute without any return of love, as embracing a corpse. Such is the contempt that these poets have for any relationship between man and woman which is based on monetary rather than love considerations. *Varadakṣiṇā* so called, will also come under this condemnation.

III

AN INSCRIPTION

Place and Date

Leaving aside the literary evidence, one is naturally anxious to know whether there is any other evidence which is historically much more definite. Fortunately the epigraphist of the Hindu Religious Department *Mr. Amalanathan,* drew my attention to an inscription of the Vijayanagar period. This belongs to the year 1425 A.D. This was during the reign of *Devaraya* who is praised as the *Vīrapratāpa Devarāya Mahārāja. Paṭaivīṭu* is a place now in the *Pōḷūr* taluk of the North Arcot District. The word originally meant the encampment of the King's army and later on it comes to mean the city. *Paṭaivīṭu* must have been an important place because the territory all around the city came to be called *rācciyam* or province within the larger political division of *Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam.* This inscription is found as No. 56 in the South Indian Inscriptions Volume I page 83. It is found inscribed inside the front *gōpura* of the *Viriñjipuram* temple.

The Document

There was an assembly of numerous people of learning held in the presence of the Lord of the temple, *Gopinātha,* near the tank *Akarkapuṣkaraṇi.* They came to an understanding for establishing the convention on a point of *dharma.* This document is called *dharma stapana samaya patram.* It was signed by the learned people who took part in that decision and who came from various villages in and around *Paṭaivīṭu.*

The Terms

The terms of the deed are as follows :—

From this day forwards whenever the *Brahmin, Kannadigas, Tamilians, Telugus, Lādās,* etc., of all *gotras, Sudras* and *sākās* of this Kingdom of *Paṭaivīṭu* perform any marriage they shall perform it as a *Kanyādāna* form of marriage. Without performing the marriage as *Kanyādāna* if any one gave away his girl after receiving gold, if any one conducted marriage giving away money such persons shall be liable to punishment by the King; they shall be out of the place of *Brahminhood* [i.e., they shall be excommunicated from the Brahmin Community].

Interpretation

There are the words of the document. This seems to suggest that marriage should be based on *dharma* and not on money. That will mean that there should be neither bride-price nor bridegroom-price. If this interpretation is correct the payment of *pariyam, mulai-p-pāl paṇam,* or bride-price is equally punishable as the payment of *Varadakṣiṇā* or bridegroom-price ; for, in both the cases, the consideration is not *dharma* but money. There is no *Kanyādāna* but a sale of a bride or bridegroom. On this interpretation *varadakṣiṇā* may be said to have been condemned. *Ponvāṅki-p-peṇ Koṭuttāl* will refer to the case of receiving *pariyam* or bride-price. *Pon koṭuttu vivākam paṇṇināl* will refer to the payment of money to the bridegroom.

Dr. Hultzch's Interpretation

But Dr. Hultzch translates these words thus. "Both those who give a girl away after having received gold and those who conclude a marriage after having given gold shall be liable to punishment". This translation can also be interpreted as mentioned above. But in an introductory note he adds; "Both the fathers who accepted the money and the bridegroom who paid money for the bride should be subjected to punishment". This will make the document applicable only to the cases of bride-price.

Conclusion

But it is submitted that the words are wide enough to bring within their operation the cases of *varadakṣiṇā* as well. The intention is that the virgin should be given and taken in marriage without money passing from either side as a major consideration for marriage. Perhaps this interpretation was suggested to him by those who, taking the conditions prevailing when they were interpreting never thought that *varadakṣiṇā* they were practising could have been condemned. In the same way it may be argued it is my belief that is entering into my interpretation. The subject of *kanyādānam paṇṇāmal* can only be the bride's policy and therefore the same subject should be supplied for *pon vāṅki-p-peṇ koṭuttāl* and for *pon koṭuttu vivā kam paṇṇināl*. The punishment will be for all those who took part in the marriage being parties to such a marriage organised by the bride's party.

The Form and the Arrangement of the Atharva-Veda

By

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The *Ṛgveda* (*RV*), as is well-known, is the most ancient and the most important among our Vedic texts, and the *Atharvaveda* (*AV*) is almost half of it in extent, younger than it chronologically, and much inferior to it from the point of view of the subject-matter. Scholars, however, are now realising day by day that *AV* is after all not only not so unimportant as it was till almost recently supposed to be, but on the contrary may perhaps prove a bit even more important than *RV*. We have already studied the different names by which *AV* is known or referred to and also the significance of each one of them. Let us try to study *AV*. from the point of view of its form and arrangement. The most obvious circumstance about *AV* which even a casual perusal of it is enough to reveal, is that it is not wholly metrical like *RV* nor completely prose like the *YV*. It is partly prose and partly metrical, the prose portion not being quite negligible in proportion. Another point to be noted about this Veda is its indebtedness to *RV*., about a sixth of its bulk being borrowed from *RV* verbatim or in some cases with some slight variation.

There are references which show that the *AV* had of yore several recensions; and in Patanjali's day nine of them appear to have been extant as may be inferred from a statement made by him in his *Mahābhāṣya*.[1] For us, however, only one of these, viz., the *Śaunaka* recension was available till recently when thanks to the vigorous efforts and industry of several savants both of the east and of the west, one more recension (The *Paippalāda*) has become available to us in full.[2] It may, however, be observed that both the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] and the *Mahābhāṣya*[4] notice '*Śaṁ no devī*' as the opening *mantra* of the *AV*, which may justify

[1] महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः।.........एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं नवधाथर्वणो वेदः.........। महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 'सर्वे देशान्तरे'

[2] This is edited by Barret and also by Raghu Vira in the Sarasvatī Vihāra Series, Lahore.

[3] 'शं नो देवीरभिष्टय' इत्येवमादि कृत्वाथर्ववेदमधीयते।' गोपथ० I. 29 (p. 16, Bibl. Ind. Ed., 1872)

[4] वैदिकाः खल्वपि 'शं नो देवीराभिष्टये', 'इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा', 'अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्', 'अग्न आयाहि वीतये' इति.........।

us in concluding that it was the *Paippalāda* rather than the *Śaunaka* recension that must have been popular till their time. Here, however, we shall confine ourselves to the *Śaunaka* recension only.

According to this recension, *AV* contains 5277 mantras (or *ṛcs* as they are called even in *AV* itself), several of which are borrowed from *RV ;* and of the rest some are in verse, some in prose. The twofold arrangement of *RV* led scholars deeper into the matter and it was ultimately discovered that the *maṇḍala* arrangement is not only more ancient than the *aṣṭaka* arrangement, but is historically even more significant than it. *AV* also evinces to some extent, a twofold arrangement[5] which also does require a more careful consideration. But we shall leave this topic for the time being and devote ourselves to a close consideration of the *Kāṇḍa* system to see what light it throws on the *Veda*.

Turning first to the 20th *Kāṇḍa,* we find that almost all the hymns, with the exception of the *Khila* hymns—more popularly known as the *Kuntāpa* hymns[6] are borrowed from *RV*. It is further observed that they are one and all addressed to Indra and further that they are associated with *Soma* sacrifice with which *AV* would seem to have nothing to do, at least from the point of view of the subject-matter. It is a well-known phenomenon of the Vedic period that any thing or deity that was to attain any importance could do it only on being associated with Indra (and the *Soma* sacrifice). It is, therefore, more likely than not that *AV*. appears to have commanded little importance at first, had all these Indra hymns pertaining to *Soma* sacrifice brought together and included in or rather appended to it. The designation *Khila* given to the *Kuntāpa* hymns of BK.XX of *AV* would suggest that they originally formed a sort of appendix (*Khila*) to the original *AV*. and then it was by adding Indra hymns to them that a separate book (or *Kāṇḍa*) was formed, thus raising what was originally only an appendix (*Khila*) to the status of a book proper (- *Kāṇḍa*) of the *Veda* that such must have been the case seems further to be demonstrated by some other facts also.

The *sarvānukramaṇī* of *AV* at the end of *Kāṇḍa* XIX reads : '*Bhṛgvaṅgirasām brahmeti Bhṛgvaṅgirasām brahmeti*' ; and this by its repetition seems to suggest the completion of *AV*. at that point. This is further corroborated by the way in which it commences its statement about the XX *Kāṇḍa*. The opening statement pertaining to *Kāṇḍa* XX seems clearly to show that *Kāṇḍa XX* was originally not in AV but in *RV* and this in its turn would suggest that it was borrowed

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[5] The twofold arrangement is : (1) *Kāṇḍa, Prapāṭhaka, anuvāka, sūkta ;* and *mantra ;* and (2) *Kāṇḍa, sūkta,* and *Mantra.* As for the *Prapāṭhakas,* it may be observed that ten *kāṇḍas* (viz. 1-3 ; 7-12 and 18) have only two *prapāṭhakas* each ; *Kāṇḍas* 4-6 have three each ; and the remaining *Kāṇḍas* each one of them only one.

[6] AV. (Śaunaka Recension) XX. 127-136 are known as *Khila sūktas* (or *Khilāni*) or *Kuntāpasūktas.*

(and appended to *AV*) from *RV* of a *Sarvānukramaṇī* was prepared by Āśvalāyana. A further corroboration for this is found in the *AV Prātiśākhya,* where BK.*XX* is conspicuous by absence of any reference to it.

The *AV Pr* does not mention even BK.*XIX* and this cannot be said to be a mere accident. This circumstance creates a legitimate doubt about the genuineness of BK. *XIX* also ; and a close perusal of this book in the light of this fact draws our pointed attention to two hymns (Nos. 22 and 23) therein that make a specific mention of the several books of *AV* itself by their special or peculiar characteristics.[7] About this we shall have occasion to speak in further details at a later stage. On the basis of these hymns, at this stage, we only infer that the very fact that these hymns speak of the various books of *AV*, shows that those books of *AV* must have already been in existence before they (i.e., these hymns) were composed. This, in other words, would mean that these hymns (and perhaps even the whole book in which they occur) are extraneous to the original *AV*. The very fact that the several books of *AV* are serially noted by means of their special features as also the mention of the last book by the expression *māṅgalikebhyaḥ* (which euphemistically refers to the 18th book known as the *Pitṛmedha kāṇḍa* after its subject-matter) can be said to show that the hymns in question had only 18 *kāṇḍas* to speak of or that in the eye of the composer of these hymns *AV*, comprised eighteen books only. Further, as will be shown later, there are reasons to believe that *Kāṇḍa XVIII.* itself is of doubtful nature, and if it is so, it is more than evident that *Kāṇḍa XIX* sandwiched as it is between Books *XVIII* and *XX* (both of them spurious) must itself also be spurious.

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[7] These I quote here in relevant details :—

(A) अङ्गिरसानामाद्यैः पञ्चानुवाकैः स्वाहा ॥१॥ षष्ठाय स्वाहा ॥२॥ सप्तमाष्टमाभ्यां स्वाहा ॥३॥ नीसनखेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥४॥ हरितेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥५॥ क्षुद्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥६॥ पर्यायिकेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥७॥ प्रथमेभ्यः शङ्खेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥८॥ द्वितीयेभ्यः शङ्खेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥९॥·········॥१९॥ ब्रह्मणे स्वाहा ॥२०॥

(B) आथर्वणानां चतुर्ऋचेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥१॥ पञ्चर्चेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥२॥·········॥१४॥ अष्टादशर्चेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥१५॥ एकोनविंशतिः स्वाहा ॥१६॥ विंशतिः स्वाहा ॥१७॥ महत्काण्डाय स्वाहा ॥१८॥ तृचेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥१९॥ एकर्चेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥२०॥ क्षुद्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥२१॥ एकानृचेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥२२॥ रोहितेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥२३॥ सूर्याभ्यां स्वाहा ॥२४॥ व्रात्याभ्यां स्वाहा ॥२५॥ प्राजापत्याभ्यां स्वाहा ॥२६॥ विजासह्यै स्वाहा ॥२७॥ माङ्गलिकेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥२८॥ ब्रह्मणे स्वाहा ॥२९॥

It is intriguing to note further that both these hymns end with identical *mantra* (verse) coming after ब्रह्मणे स्वाहा quoted above. The *mantra* is : ब्रह्मज्येष्ठा सम्भृत्र वीर्याणि ब्रह्माग्रे ज्येष्ठं दिवमाततान। भूतानां ब्रह्मा प्रथमोत जज्ञे तेनार्हति ब्रह्मणा स्पर्धितुं कः ॥

Turning now to *Kāṇḍa XVIII* we notice first of all that its subject matter is *Pitṛmedha,* which can't be said to be Atharvanic in the real sense of the term. Moreover about half of the *mantras* in this book are borrowed from *RV*[8]. One may, therefore, be justified in concluding that book XVIII also to a large extent must be spurious, though its mention in Book XIX would prove beyond doubt its antiquity also to that extent. At any rate *Kāṇḍa XVIII* could not have formed part of the original kernel of *AV*.

It would thus appear that the original kernel of *AV* (whatever might be its extent) could not have contained the last three books of the extant Śaunaka recension of *AV* and further that Book *XVIII* must have been put into it at some period anterior to that at which the other two must have been appended. This in other words means that Book XVIII of the extant *Ś. AV* must at one time have marked the end or the concluding book of *AV*. This seems to find a corroboration in the fact that it is the smallest or the shortest of all the books of *AV*, comprising only thirty mantras. The arrangement of the mantras in it is also worth noting. For the first five *mantras* therein are of the nature of a formula,[9] each *mantra* varying from the rest in only one word or expression. This same formulaic nature appears to persist in *mantras* 6 to 19 and 24 to a lesser extent[10]; for them the variation is not restricted to only one word (as in the previous *mantras*) but extends over almost half a *mantra*. *Mantras* 25 and 26[11] differ from each other only in two words; and *mantras* 27 and 28[12] have almost half their portion in common. The last two *mantras* (i.e., 29 and 30) together with the preceding four are of the nature of an independent prayer.[13] Now when it is observed that the formulaic nature of the arrangement of the *mantras* that we find to prevail in this book (BK. XVII) is a peculiar feature common to some of the preceding books also, we may without much hesitation say that this book also must have been arranged and put together at the same period, on the same principles and perhaps by the same hand. The subject-matter of this book also (viz., 'A prayer for prosperity; '*abhyudayāya prārthanā*) is quite suitable for a book that is meant to form the concluding section of a work.

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[8] This *Kāṇḍa* comprises *four* hymns containing 283 *mantras* in all. Of these, 126 appear to be borrowed from RV. while the remaining 157 are original to the AV.

[9] The first verse reads 'विषासहिं सहमानं मासहानं सहीयांसम् । सहमानं सहोजितं स्वर्जितं संधनाजितम् ॥ ईड्यं नाम ह्व इन्द्रमायुष्मान् भूयासम् ॥' The next four *mantras* read identically like this one, but for the expressions given here, which are substituted for the concluding words of this *mantra* : Thus : प्रियो देवानां भूयासम्॥२॥ प्रियः सजानां भूयासम् ॥३॥ प्रियः पशूनां भूयासम् ॥४॥ प्रियः समानानां भूयासम् ॥५॥

[10] In all these *mantras* has identically recurred the following portion : तवेद् विष्णो बहुधा वीर्याणि । त्वं नः पृणीहि पशुभिर्विश्वरूपैः सुधायां मा धेहि परमे व्योमन् ॥ It is only the remaining part that is altered from verse to verse.

[11] The *mantras* are आदित्य नावमारुक्षः शतारित्रां स्वस्तये । अहर्मात्यपीपरो रात्रिं सत्राति पारय ॥२५॥ आदित्य नावमारुक्षः शतारित्रां स्वस्तये । रात्रिं मात्यपीपरो अहः सत्राति पारय ॥२६॥

[12] In these *mantras* the first half is identical, viz., प्रजापतेरावृतो ब्रह्मणा वर्मणाहं कश्यपस्य ज्योतिषा वर्चसा च ।

Another characteristic of this *Kāṇḍa* is what may be called the *paryāya division.* Every hymn is divided into several *paryāyas* of ten *mantras* each, and the *mantras* that are left over after such a division is counted as a separate section (*paryāya*) if the number of *mantras* left over is four or more. If, however, the number of *mantras* left over is less than four, they are placed in the preceding *paryāya* which thus may consist of any number of *mantras* between eleven and thirteen. Thus it may be seen that a *paryāya* as a general rules comprises ten *mantras* while the last paryāya of a *Kāṇḍa* may have any number from four up to thirteen. In the book under consideration all the *paryāyas* are of equal length, containing ten mantras each. Such, however, is not the case with the other books of *Atharvaveda* where this *paryāya* division is observed. It may thus be seen that the 17th book has some special features of its own which help us to establish its affinity to some of its preceding *Kāṇḍas* which we shall now proceed to examine.

Let us turn to Books XV and XVI which pertain to *Vrātya* and *Duḥkhavimocana* (removal of calamity) respectively. The contents of Book XV give the impression that beyond the Aryan settlements in the *Magadha* and other lands the non-Aryans had grown enormously powerful and possibly there had cropped up circumstances which compelled the Aryans to extend their folds so as to include within them these *Vrātyas* who were not only alien to them but were even far inferior to them. But here it must be noted that this they did on the basis of the doctrine of universal brotherhood or the view that God Almighty is not only transcendant but also immanent as can be inferred from statements actually found in the book itself. It was thus that they not only secured acquiescence of

In the second half, however, they differ. The 27th *mantra* reads : जरदष्टिः कृतवीर्यो विहायाः सहस्रायुः सुकृतश्चरेयम् ॥ while the 28th reads : मा मा प्रपक्षिषवो दैव्या मा मा मानुषांरवसृष्टा वधाय ॥

[13] The last two *mantras* are ऋतेन गुप्त ऋतुभिश्च सर्वभूतेन गुप्तो भव्येन चाहम् मा मा पाप्मन् पाप्मा मोत मृत्युः अन्तर्दधेऽहं सलिलेन वाचः ॥ अग्निर्मा गोप्ता परिपातु विश्वतः उद्यन् सूर्यो नुदतां मृत्युपाशान् ॥ व्युच्छन्तीरुषसः पर्वता ध्रुवाः सहस्रं प्राणा मय्यायतन्ताम् ॥ २९-३०.

all but at the same time ensured solidarity and continuity of the society as such a marvellous act of adaptability, which the Aryans have evinced whenever there was any occasion for it. It may further be observed that here lies the root of the later concept of honouring the guest (*atithipūjā*).

The fifteenth book, thus composed under peculiar conditions, has a unity of subject-matter, a circumstance that easily distinguishes it from several other books that can be said to form the genuine or rather the most ancient of the earliest portions of the *AV*. It has, however, both the *paryāya* division as well as the formulaic style of composition; and is wholly in prose. We shall have later on an occasion to discuss the importance of this book. Here we shall only remark that these external characteristics of this book noted so far are quite similar to those of Book XVIII which we have discussed before.

The same holds good in the case of Book XVI, which deals with the topic of 'removal of calamity', has the *paryāya* division, and is wholly in prose and also formulaic in style. The fifth and the eighth *paryāyas* evince a change of only one expression[14] in the formulaic structure of its *mantras*. Such formulaic structure is prominently observable in folk-songs, ancient as well as modern, and is admitted by a peculiar characteristic thereof. Its occurrence in this and the other books of the *AV* may easily lead one to look upon *AV* as a specimen of folk-song of high antiquity.

After all this discussion we may now safely say that unity of subject-matter, *paryāya* division, and formulaic structure-features that are not prominently observable in the other parts of *AV* lend a sort of homogeneity

[14] (A) विश्वं ते स्वप्न जनित्रं ग्राह्याः पुत्रोऽसि ग्रामस्य करणः । अन्तकोऽसि मृत्युरसि । तं त्वा स्वप्न तथा सं विद्म स नः स्वप्न दुःष्वप्न्यात् पाहि । The succeeding *mantras* of this hymn can be obtained by substituting the expression ग्राह्या of this *mantra* by the expressions निर्ऋत्याः, अभूत्याः, निर्भूत्याः, पराभूत्याः and देवजामीनाम् respectively. [AV. *XVI, paryāya* 5].

(B) जितमस्माकमुद्भिन्नमस्माकममृतमस्माकं तेजोऽस्माकं स्वरस्माकं यज्ञोऽस्माकं परीवोऽस्माकं प्रजा अस्माकं वीरा अस्माकम् । तस्मादमुं निर्भजामोऽमुमामुष्यायणममुष्याः पुत्रमसौ यः । स ग्राह्याः पापान्मोचि । तस्येदं वर्चस्तेजः प्राणमायुर्नि वेष्टयामि इदमेनमधराञ्चं पादयामि ॥

The succeeding *mantras* of this hymn also can be obtained simply by dropping the word ग्राह्याः from this *mantra* and putting in its place respectively the following expressions : निर्ऋत्याः, अभूत्याः, निर्भूत्याः, पराभूत्याः, देवजामीनाम्, बृहस्पतेः, प्रजापतेः, ऋषीणाम् आर्षेयाणाम्, अङ्गिरसाम्, आङ्गिरसानाम्, अथर्वणाम्, आथर्वणानाम्, वनस्पतिनाम्, वानस्पत्यानाम्, ऋतूनाम्, आर्तवानाम्, मासानाम्, अर्धमासानाम्, अहोरात्रयोः अह्नोः, संयतोः द्यावापृथिव्योः इन्द्राग्न्योः, मित्रावरुणयोः, राज्ञो वरुणस्य, मृत्योः पड्बीशात् [AV. *XVI.* paryāya 8].

to Books XV to XVII thereof ; and two of these, viz., XV and XVI, are wholly in prose. The topics of these books (viz., *Vrātya,* removal of calamity, and a prayer for prosperity), though not quite incompatible with the general trend of this Veda, are not discussed in these books in the usual Atharvanic manner, propounding particular means (or *upāyas*) of the attainment. The discussion about the *Vrātya* is similarly of quite a different type. These three books may, therefore, be said to differ from the rest of *AV,* and may belong very probably to the same period and be perhaps even from the same pen.

Turning to book XIV we find that about a third of its *mantras* are borrowed from *RV,*[15] and the subject-matter also cannot be said to be Atharvanic in character, nay it may be even said to be Ṛgvedic. In this it clearly resembles the Book XVIII which also has about half of its *mantras* borrowed from *RV,* and whose subject-matter also is far from being Atharvanic. A careful perusal of the subject-matter of this book (it is the marriage of Sūrya ; *Sūrya-vivāha*) and more particularly of some *Atharvanic* chants, will throw good light on the ideas pertaining to marriage in those days. This book is thus highly important as throwing light on marriage and rites and customs in that connection current during the Vedic age. About all this we shall speak at a later stage. Here we only note the fact that Books XIV and XVIII are very similar to each other and at the same time differ from the other books of *AV* in point of subject-matter, arrangement and structure of its hymns ; and may, therefore be said to be chronologically on the same level.

This now brings us to book XIII whose subject-matter is *rohita* (i.e., the copper-red sun). Like the *Vrātya* in Book XV, the *rohita* is here identified with supreme deity of the universe. Unlike Book XV, however, this book has four hymns, the last of which, it must be observed, has the *paryāya* division as also the formulaic structure. These characteristics show this book to have an affinity with the following three books rather than book XII that precedes it.

After all this discussion one may be permitted to conclude that out of the twenty books of the extant *Ś. AV,* the last three are extraneous to the original *AV* to which they appear to have been appended at different periods and diverse circumstances. Books XIII to XVII generally speaking form one unit as possessing in common several characteristics such as unity of subject-matter, formulaic structure of its *mantras,* and *paryāya* division, which are conspicuous by their absence in the other books. They must, therefore, be pronounced to be of a totally different character from the first twelve books, and must, as such be said to have been added to the original *AV* almost simultaneously.

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[15] This *Kāṇḍa* has only *two* hymns comprising 139 *mantras.* Of these, about 51 *mantras* are borrowed from *RV.*

To have a good idea about the remaining books of *AV* we must now turn to the two hymns of Book XIX already referred to above. *Mantras* 23 and 24 make a clear and unambiguous reference to Books XIII to XVIII not by mentioning their serial number in the *AV* but by noting their peculiar characteristics. Thus Books XIII to XVI are noted by means of their subject-matter with the expressions *rohita, sūryā,* and *prājāpatya* respectively. The 17th book is noted recording the expression with which it commences (viz., *Viṣāsahyai*) while the expression *māṅgalikebhyaḥ* is used to mention Book XVIII,—covertly and euphemistically referring to its subject-matter (viz., the *Pitṛmedha*). This is enough to show that these books are mentioned in this hymn in the very order in which they are found to occur in the extant *Ś. AV*.

Turning to the remaining portion of the hymn one can easily see that the mode of mentioning the remaining books adopted there is rather different. The books are now noted on the basis of the number of *mantras* in the hymns of the respective books. At the outset the book is noted by the expression *caturṛca* (having (hymns of) four *ṛcs*). This evidently is the first book which does have hymns of four *mantras* each. The successive books are similarly referred to by the expressions *pañcarca*, etc., up to *aṣṭādaśarca,*—after which, however, are used the expressions *ekonaviṁśati* and *viṁśati* by themselves without the accompanying expression *ṛca* (as is done till now). A reference to the table[16] will show that books I to IV are named *caturṛca, pañcarca, ṣaḷṛca,* and *saptarca* respectively, on the strength of the maxim '*Prādhānyena vyapadeśā bhavanti ;* for a majority of the hymns in these books are actually *catur ṛca,* etc., and also because they commence with hymns containing 4, 5, 6 and 7 *mantras* respectively. The fifth book commences with a hymn of nine *mantras* and its hymns have from 8 up to 18 *mantras*. This book, therefore, appears to be referred to in the expressions *aṣṭa cebhyaḥ* up to *aṣṭādaśacebhyaḥ* so much so that from *caturṛcebhyaḥ* upto *aṣṭādaśarcebhyaḥ* in the hymn under consideration we can see a mention of Books I to V of *Atharvaveda*.

[16] Table pertaining to *Kāṇḍas* I-VII

Kāṇḍa	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
No. of *mantras* in the 1st hymn	4	5	6	7	9	3	2
No. of *mantras* in a majority of the hymns	4	5	6	7	11	3	1
No. of *mantras* by which the kāṇḍa is mentioned	4	5	6	7	8 up to 11	3	1

Here again we discern a definite principle on which Books I to V have been named and mentioned; viz., that a book is named (or referred to) after the number of *mantras* in its opening hymn; further that that is the number of *mantras* of a majority of the hymns of that book; and lastly that no hymn in the book has a number of *mantras* less than that of its opening hymn. Slightly different is the case with the fifth book. Its opening hymn has nine *mantras;* eleven is the number of mantras of only six hymns; while the remaining hymns have from eight to eighteen *mantras*. But the number of hymns with any one of these numbers (of *mantras*) is less than six. Here then it is not quite easy to find out a suitable designation for this book. This should explain why this book should have been referred to in the hymn under discussion by means of several expressions from *aṣṭārcebhyaḥ* upto *aṣṭādaśarcebhyaḥ*. This should lead us to conclude that Book V is a sort of supplement to Books I to IV in which have been put together all hymns of 8 to 18 *mantras,* so much so that Books I to V, so far as their arrangement is concerned, may be said to form one unit.

Similar appears to be the case with the next two books. The opening hymn of Book VI contains three *mantras,* which again is the number of 122 out of the total number of 142 hymns of that book. It is, therefore, quite natural that Book VI should be referred to by the expression *tṛcebhyaḥ*. In Book VII, however, the opening hymn has two *mantras,* which, however, is not the number of *mantras* of a majority of hymns in this book. For only 26 out of a total of 118 hymns in this book are *dvyṛca* and hence it is plausible to say that this book (like Book V) is of the nature of a supplement to Book VI, so that Book VI along with Book VII may be said to form another separate unit by themselves. It would thus appear that hymns comprising one to eighteen *mantras* have been put together in Books I to VII, in two independent groups; and within these groups again, the concluding book (i.e., Book IV and Book VII respectively) is of the nature of a supplement to the preceding Book or Books which have been arranged on some definite principles as shown above.

Atharvaveda has no hymns having 19 or 20 *mantras,* and hence it is evident that hymns with 20 or more *mantras* must obviously be said to have been put together in the remaining five books (viz., VIII to XII). But a perusal of these books[17] shows that books VIII to XI comprise ten hymns each, while Book XII has only five. Moreover, Books VIII and IX have hymns containing *mantras* numbering between 20 and 30, Books X and XI have hymns of *mantras* between 30 and 50; while Book XIII has hymns of *mantras* exceeding fifty. Now this cannot be said to be a mere accident. On the contrary this betrays a systematic arrangement on some fixed and well thought out principles. The books would thus appear to have been put together in the ascending order of the mantras in the hymn, but with equal number of hymns in each of the four books with the last book containing the remaining hymns comprising the highest number of *mantras*. These books, being thus arranged on the basis of principles, different from those noted above as being at the root of the first seven, must be said to comprise a separate unit by themselves.[18]

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[17] Table pertaining to *Kāṇḍas* VIII-XII, showing the number of *mantras* in each of their hymns

We may now conclude by stating in brief our finding about the arrangement of the hymns in the extant *Ś. AV* and the principles underlying the same. The last two books (XIX and XX) have, of course, to be set aside as later additions to the remaining eighteen books, which clearly are presupposed by Book XIX in two of its hymns. The eighteen books naturally fall into three different groups. On the basis of the number of *mantras* in the hymns, hymns comprisining one up to eighteen mantras have been arranged in Books I to VII ; the longer hymns (i.e., hymns comprising twenty or more mantras) are put together in the next five books (VIII to XII), which form the second group ; and the remaining books are arranged on the basis of the subject-matter such as *rohita, Sūryā,* etc. arranged according to *paryāya* division, and constructed in a formulaic structure forming the third group.

In the first group again we can discern two sub-groups, each of which is further found to contain two smaller sub-divisions. Thus, Books I to IV along with Book V as its supplement form the first sub group

Sūkta No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Kāṇḍa VIII	No. of *mantras* 21	28	26	25	22	26	28	24	26	27
IX	24	25	31	24	28	73	26	22	22	28
X	32	33	25	26	50	35	44	44	27	34
XI	37	31	56	26	26	23	27	34	26	27
XII	63	65	60	53	73					

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[18] For all the numbers mentioned in this article I am indebted to Pt. Satvalekar's 'Names of Vedic *ṛṣis* and their importance' (in Marathi), pp. 14-19.

while the sixth book with the seventh as its supplement forms the second sub-group of group I. From the point of view of subject-matter books I to VII only may be said to be Atharvanic in character, evincing a clear-cut difference from the *RV* hymns. These books may, therefore, be said to form the original kernel of *Atharvaveda*.

But as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, *AV* failed to command any respect and its redactors appear to have done their best to gain the same for it by making the necessary and suitable additions to the original kernel from time to time. This explains why the later books of *AV* are arranged on the basis of the subject-matter (rather than on the number of *mantras* in their hymns) or on the basis of the number of hymns in a book (as is done in the Ṛgveda). And as the last and the successful attempt to gain respect for *AV* it was that the *Saṁhitā* thus compiled (i.e., Books I to XVIII) was brought into connection with Indra and Soma by adding to it by adding Book XX (with several hymns borrowed from *RV*). Thus we can explain the growth of the extant *Ś*. *AV* from its original kernel to its present bulk on the basis of the idea that *AV* at first lacked authenticity and failed to command respect (like the other *Vedas*) and that the appendages to the original kernel were mainly meant to remove that deficiency. This thus brings us to the question which we must discuss in a separate chapter.[19]

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[19] This article is based on one of the lectures on *AV* that I had delivered in Poona a few years ago.

Materialism versus Spiritualism

By

NATHMAL TATIA

The dogmas of materialism are—(1) the sole reality of matter and (2) the reign of law. In the field of ethics, pleasures and the fulfilment of desires are the only end. Of course, sometimes intellectual pleasures are considered higher than the sensuous. It is further recognized that one cannot be happy unless one is just, wise and noble, as also that only a cheerful person can be just, noble and wise. The materialist mortality is to enjoy your life and help others to enjoy it, without harming any one. This is what can be considered as materialism in its most commendable perspective of modern times.

In ancient Indian thought, materialism is associated with Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of gods, and Cārvāka, both of whom are perhaps mythical figures. They are not mentioned either in the Jaina Āgamas or the Buddhist Piṭakas. The *Mahābhārata, h*owever, mentions Cārvāka Rākṣasa by name, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* we find reference to Jābāli who propounds hedonism. The Jaina Āgamas refer to a doctrine which rejected the existence of soul and explained consciousness as a temporary effect of the mixture of material elements. This doctrine and others which accepted God and soul but did not agree to the Jaina doctrine are denounced as heresies in the second Āgama of the Jainas. In the Pāli *Sāmaññaphalasutta,* we find mention of Ajitakesakambali as a protagonist of nihilism (ucchedevāda). He did not believe in good and bad deeds and their results. Nor did he accept the authority of any person who has experienced the life hereafter. The human personality according to him is a combination of four material elements and nothing remains of it after death. Charity and benevolence are futile actions. But in spite of all these doctrines assigned to him, the fact remains that Ajitakesakambali was a recluse and had a moral code of his own. He was, therefore, a materialist in the modern acceptation of the term defined above, allowance being made to the modes of life and thinking of those times. It appears that anyone not believing in the established moral code was called a heretic, irrespective of his ontological convictions. The school of thought which believed in determinism (niyativāda) or naturalism (svabhāvavāda) was also looked at with contempt. The Buddha denounced determinism as the worst type of heresy which deserved unqualified condemnation. The opposition, therefore, was not between materialism and spiritualism, but between the established moral life and the subversion of it, materialism being only one of the forms of such subversion. The problem of materialism versus spiritualism, therefore, in order to be significant, should be narrowed to the ethical problem of good and bad ways of life and their justification, logical and metaphysical.

In this connection, it will not be irrelevant to refer to the Buddha's insistence that the distinction between good and bad deeds must be accepted for living a civilized life. *Ākāravatī śraddhā,* that is, faith backed by reason is the minimum condition of social life, without which life itself will be meaningless. There were very many schools of thought propounding different moral codes and conceptions of spiritual emancipation (*mokṣa*). The Buddha did not like to enter into controversies about these concepts. He was satisfied if a man recognized the distinction between *sucarita* and *duścarita* and was true to his conviction. This was what he considered as the essential requirement of spiritual life. It is difficult to understand the opposition of materialism in the context of this simplified concept of spiritualism, except it is interpreted as a doctrine that denounced the established moral code of conduct.

In later Indian Thought, many criticisms of materialism were advanced by schoolmen, both orthodox and non-orthodox. But these criticisms centered round epistemological and ontological problems, only cursorily touching the social and moral outlook of materialism. It appears that they were fighting with a phantom. It is not denied that there were free thinkers who approached the problems with open mind. But it is difficult to accept that these thinkers were as perverse as they were represented to be.

Materialism, as defined above, upholds the validity of only the two ends of life, viz., *artha* and *kāma,* that is, worldly possessions and fulfilment of desires. The other two accredited ends of life, viz., *dharma* and *mokṣa,* that is, moral principles and spiritual freedom, are not accepted as necessary truths by materialism. Spiritualism, on the other hand, believes in all these four ends. Of course, the materialist has also a moral code. But his moral code has no solid foundation. The maximum good of the maximum number may be accepted as the criterion of conduct. But that does not fully satisfy our reason which demands a universal criterion free from exigencies of place and time. We love freedom and great men defended it even at the cost of their lives. The reason is not known, but every one of us aspires to preserve his freedom. This implies life before and after. Of course, the materialist also is as much enthusiastic about his freedom as a spiritualist. But his enthusiasm is inconsistent with his presuppositions. It proves his implicit faith in immortality. The logical and also the metaphysical justification of supreme sacrifice for the cause of freedom must be sought for in the immortality of soul and the conservation of human efforts culminating in what is called *mokṣa* or infinite freedom. Materialism at its best tends to obliterate the boundary of spiritualism and merge in it.

Materialism believes in the reign of law, which is another name of causation. But what is the law determining the effects of good and bad thinking and behaviour of human beings? If strategy and success are the only things that count—and this is the implication of materialism—all unselfish strivings in the sphere of arts and sciences will pass for vain activities. One can deny teleology by denying cosmological purpose, but one cannot deny good and bad acts and their fruits. One can and should deny determinism (*niyativāda*) which envisages that our strivings are determined by the future result (*phalānukūlapravṛtti*), but it is dangerous to deny *puruṣakāra* which asserts that the future is determined by the conscious effort of persons (*pravṛttya-anukūla-phala*). The materialist's reign of law will be nothing but a form of determinism if the existence of free conscious agents is denied, and that will be an unacceptable dogma.

The ancient doctrines of individual freedom unconcerned with the freedom of others is not acceptable to the modern mind. But the Mahāyāna conception of freedom as a joint endeavour is a welcome doctrine. Freedom, in order to be freedom, must be freedom of all. Freedom of some is no freedom. It must be universal and full and for all. This is the Mahāyāna concept at its highest.

Whether it be materialism or spiritualism, the ultimate principle must be one unitary fact. Is it not then more reasonable to admit it as free spirit in order to explain our innate love for freedom, unselfish strivings, insatiable thirst for knowledge and the possibility of infinite unfolding of the qualities of the head and heart? God is not essential to spiritualism. Only soul and reincarnation are considered necessary to it. The Buddhists deny even the soul which they substitute by stream of consciousness, and there are others who deny even reincarnation in the Indian sense, and yet they are believers in spiritualism. Belief in independent conscious principle, as opposed to matter, was the minimal requirement of spiritualism. But spiritualism in modern times has a wider connotation in that whatever is appreciative of freedom and dignity of the individual is accepted as spiritualism.

A Hymn to the Sun in the Mahabharata 3.3 :[1]
Its Analysis and Implications

By

V. M. BEDEKAR

The Context: The context in which this particular hymn appears in the Mahābhārata (Mb) 3.3 is as follows:

Yudiṣṭhira, while living in a forest during his exile, expresses his anxiety to Dhaumya, his family priest in the following words (mb 3.3. 2-3): "I am not able to feed and support these learned Brāhmaṇas who are following me. Nor can I leave them. Please tell me what I should do." Dhaumya, impressing on Yudhiṣṭhira the beneficent role of the Sun, says: "From compassion for the hungry creatures, the Sun during his northern course draws up water, and during his southern course he enters the earth. The moon, the lord of planets, converts the water into clouds of rain which he pours down. Thus sprinkled by the rays of the moon, the Sun dorment in the earth, produces; thus the vegetables of six tastes are produced. They constitute the food of all the creatures and have their origin from the Sun. You must therefore seek help from the Sun who is the father of all creatures" (mb ib. 4-9).[2] Accordingly, Yudhiṣṭhira, full of piety, stood ready to propitiate the Sun and Dhaumya recited to him the hymn which contained the 108 holy names of the Sun.[3]

Classification of Epithets: The hymn which Dhaumya recites to Yudhiṣṭhira is a list of 108 names or epithets of the Sun. It would be instructive and interesting to discover some principle of classification behind this list of names which have come to be strung together in this hymn. The following classification is attempted and offered below, according to which the epithets of the Sun contained in this hymn can be grouped together under 8 categories:

1. Names handed down from antiquity : 11

(a) सूर्यः, अर्यमा, भगः, त्वष्टा, पूषा, अर्कः, सविता (18)[4], विवस्वान् (20) अदितेः सुतः (26), मित्रः [मैत्रेण वपुषान्वितः (28)]=10

These names signifying the Sun occur in the Ṛgveda.[5]

(b) रविः[6] (18)=1

Though this name of the Sun is not found occurring in the Ṛgveda, it occurs in the late metrical Upaniṣads (see Śvetāśvatara. *5.8* ; Cf. also Maitrāyaṇi 6.38).

II. Epithets suggestive of the luminosity of the Sun : 11 :

गभस्तिमान, प्रभाकरः (18) ; दीप्तांशुः, शुचिः (20) ; तेजषां पतिः, ऐन्धनः[7] (21) ; विभावसुः (23) ; अंशुः[8], तमोनुदः (24) ; मणिः[9], सुवर्णः (25)

III. Epithets suggestive of the Solar qualities benificent to the living beings : 5 :

जाठरः अग्निः (21) ; जीवनः (24) ; प्राणधारणः ; धन्वन्तरिः[10] (26) ; देहकर्ता (28)

IV. Epithets identifying the Sun with time and its units : 15 :

कालः (18) ; कालचक्रः (23) ; शीघ्रगः (26) ; कृतं, त्रेता, द्वापरः, कलिः, क्रतुः मासाः, पक्षाः, काष्ठाः, कला, मुहूर्ताः (22) ; संवत्सरकरः (23) ; द्वादशात्मा (27)

V. Epithets identifying the Sun with the Great Elements and forces of Nature : 8 :

पृथिवी, आपः, तेजः, वायुः, खं (19) ; वैद्युतः (21) ; जीमूतः, सागरः (24)

VI. Epithets identifying the Sun—with the planets : 6 :

सोमः, अङ्गारकः, बुधः, बृहस्पतिः, शुक्रः (19) ; शनैश्चरः (20)

VII. Epithets identifying the Sun with gods : 10 :

ब्रह्मा, विष्णुः. रुद्रः, इन्द्रः, यमः, वैश्रवणः (20) ; वरुणः (24) ; स्कन्दः (20) धूमकेतुः[12] (26) ; शौरिः (20)

VIII. Epithets identifying the Sun with the Highest : 42 :

परायणम् (19) ; अजः (18) ; पुरुषः ; शाश्वतः, सनातनः (23) ; विश्वात्मा, चराचरात्मा, सूक्ष्मात्मा, प्रशान्तात्मा (28) ; व्यक्ताव्यक्तः (23) ; विशालः (26) ; विश्वतोमुखः (28) ; सर्वतोमुखः (25) ; त्रिविष्टपम् (27) ; अश्वत्थः (23) ; आदिदेवः (26);

धाता, मृत्युः (18); योगी (23) ; विश्वकर्मा[13] (24) ; सर्वामराश्रयः (22) ; सर्वभूतनिषेवितः, भूतपतिः, भूतादिः, भूताश्रयः (25) ; लोकाध्यक्षः, प्रजाध्यक्षः (24) ; प्रजाद्वारम्, स्वर्गद्वारम्, मोक्षद्वारम् (27) ; धर्मध्वजः, वेदकर्ता, वेदाङ्गः, वेदवाहनः (21) ; अरविन्दाक्षः[14], पिता, माता, पितामहः (27) ; कामदः (25) ; वरदः (26) ; अरिहा (24) ; जयः (26)

The Sun raised to the highest Godhead: A glance at the above 8 Categories in which the epithets in the hymn have been distributed, would reveal that these categories represent a sort of an ascending order in the process of the deification of the Sun. In the first three categories—of which the first category is significant by reason of the epithets therein belonging to the earliest period of Sanskrit literature—there is seen the personification of the great Luminary which has appealed to man in the concrete by its splendour, light and warmth, and its enthusing, vitalising power. In categories IV-V-VI, there appears a further recognition of the great power and influence of the Sun which has, again, a concrete appeal to mankind, by reason of its being the determinant of time and its units and by virtue of its occupying the pivotical place among the great elements and forces of nature and of the planets. In category VII, the deification of the Sun becomes more pronounced and abstract, the Sun being identified with each of the several gods of the Vedic and the Epic-Puranic pantheon, until finally in category VIII, the deification reaches its culmination with the Sun being identified with the attributes of the highest principle or the Almighty.

Solar Cult and the mb: It would be interesting to inquire whether the hymn can bear any relation with the development of the (Solar) Saura Sect in ancient India. Scholars have pointed out[15] that in the history of the origin and development of the Saura Sect in India, there appear to be two phases of development—one, the earlier, indigenous one and the other, the later one which grew under the impact of foreign influence. The earlier, indigenous phase of Sun-worship has no allusion to the temple or the image of the Sun. The later phase of Sun-worship, which grew under the impact of Mihira-worship brought into India by the old Persian Magi priests, dates from the early centuries of the Christian era and is characterized by temples in which were installed the images of the Sun with some peculiar features. In this later phase of Sun-worship, the Sun has got such peculiar epithets as Mihira, and Mārtaṇḍa and the image of the Sun is represented as being surrounded by a host of divine attendants (vide History and Culture of the Indian People, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Vol. IV p. 348 ff.).

Coming to the mb, we find hardly any traces of the Saura Sect in the Epic.[16] There is found a bare mention of the Sauras in one place where the reading is uncertain.[17] In another passage, there is mention of the secret Veda of the Sun. But the passage is considered to be spurious by the critical edition.[18] Thus there is no clear indication of the prevalence of the Saura Sect in the mb; still the hymn to the Sun, in which the Sun is praised as the highest deity, appears to suggest that this hymn might be the harbinger of a litany of the Solar Cult in its ancient phase of Sun-worship without reference to temples or idols. The hymn, as will be clear from the analysis, implies not an idol but a personification of the great luminary seen in the concrete; it has no reference to epithets like Mihira and Mārtaṇḍa, nor has it any illusion to the attendants of the Sun such as Māthara and Daṇḍa.

It may be pointed out in this connection, that in the Devanāgarī version (e.g. the version with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary) of this selfsame chapter (Mb 3.3), there is another hymn to the Sun recited by Yudhiṣṭhira—This hymn which appears in this chapter in some editions over and above the hymn recited by Dhaumya, is omitted from the text of the critical edition on the strength of Ms evidence and has been relegated to Appendix I. 1 (p. 1044 of the critical edition). This late hymn put in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira contains the epithets Mihira, Mārtaṇḍa[19] among the epithets of the Sun and also refers to the attendants Māthara[20] and Daṇḍa sitting at the feet of the Sun. Thus the Ms evidence pointing to the late spurous character of this hymn put in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira has been reinforced by internal evidence in respect of late epithets of the Sun and his attendants.

A common stock of Epithets: The hymn which is a string of epithets of the Sun glorifying the luminary as the highest deity reminds one of similar hymns in the Epic composed in praise of Viṣṇu or Śiva as the highest deity. In fact, a comparison of these hymns shows that there is quite a large number of epithets common to these hymns and one gets the impression that the epic poets had at hand a stock of common epithets and attributes upon which they could draw for the purpose of glorifying their particular deities as the highest ones.

There is given at the end of this article an Appendix 1 which records the epithets common to the hymn to the Sun, called 'Sūrya-rāmāṣṭaśatakam, the subject of this article, on the one hand and to other epic hymns on the other. The epic hymns which have been selected for comparison are, besides the hymn to the Sun, the four famous ones from the mb: (i) the hundred names of Rudra (Mb 7.173); (ii) the thousand names of Śiva (mb 13.17); (iii) the thousand names of Viṣṇu (mb 13.135); and (iv) the praise of the Great Being Nārayāṇa (mb 12-325) and one from the Rāmāyaṇa (R) (6.105) called the heart of the Sun. It may be pointed out that all the five hymns from the Mahābhārata form part of the contituted critical text of the mb in the critical edition, while the hymn from the R. is referred to as it appears in the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the

R., in the absence of a published critical edition of the Book VI of the R. The writer understands from Dr P. L. Vaidya who is entrusted by the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, with the work of the editing of Book VI, i.e., the Yuddha-kāṇḍa of the R., that this particular chapter (6.105) relating to the hymn of the Sun has been found to be spurious and late on the strength of Ms evidence on which the critical edition of the R. is based and that it would not, therefore, be included in the body of the critically constituted text. The hymn alludes to Mārtaṇḍa as one of the epithets of the Sun and to Piṅgala as one of the attendants of the Sun. Thus the internal evidence also would reinforce the Ms evidence in favour of its late character.

A glance at the list of the common epithets given in the Appendix would reveal the following striking features :

(i) The list of common epithets amount to 83. Of the 108 epithets of the Sun, these 83 are found to be occurring in one or the other of the epic hymns. The largest number of common epithets are naturally found in the VS and the ŚS, each of the latter two being comparatively the longest list of epithets of the particular god. (ii) In the list of 83 common epithets, 15 epithets which are marked with a cross (X) sign are the characteristic epithets of the Sun. Their appearance as common epithets in other epic hymns follows the general tendency of these devotional hymns viz. the tendency to appropriate the characteristic epithets of other gods for the glorification of their respective deity. The other examples of this tendency can also be found in the list itself in respect of other epithets which are originally the characteristic epithets of other gods but which have been taken over for the purposes of the particular god under invocation e.g. Indra, Varuṇa, Vaiśravaṇa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. (iii) The rest of the common epithets are of a general nature, attributing the highest powers over man and nature to the particular Godhead regarded as Supreme.

APPENDIX

[Abbreviations : Mb=Mahābhārata critical edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona ; R=Rāmāyaṇa Nirṇayasāgara edition ; SN=Sūryanāmāṣṭaśatam, Mb 3.3 ; ŚR=Śatarudrīyam, mb 7-173 ; MP=Mahāpuruṣastavaḥ, mb 12-325 ; ŚS—Śivasahasranāma, Mb 13.17 ; VS=Viṣṇusaharsranāma, mb 13.135 ; AH—Ādityahṛdayam, R 6-105]

Epithets common to SN and other Epic Hymns

[*N.B.* (i) Figures in the columns below refer to the number of the verse in which the epithet occurs.

(ii) For epithets marked with the sign X, see page 61 above.]

Epitnets	SN (mb 3.3)	ŚR (mb 7.173	MP (Mb. 12.325)	ŚS (mb 13.17)	VS (mb 13.135)	AH (R.6.105)
× अंशुः	24			65		
अजः	18	70	4		45,24,35,69	
अदितेः सुतः	26			आदित्य 65	आदित्य 18,73	
अरविन्दाक्षः	27				51, पुष्कराक्षः 18,72 पुण्डरीकाक्ष 25 पद्मनिभेक्षणः 50	
अरिहा	24				सुरारिहा 35	
× अर्कः	18				98	
× अर्यमा	18			102		
अश्वत्थः	23				101	
आदिदेवः	26		पुर्वादिदेवः 4		49, 65	
इन्द्रः	20			शक्रः 77		
क्रतुः	22			72, 133		ऋतुकर्ता
कला	22			138		
कलिः	22			91		
कामदः	25			सर्वकामदः:64	कामप्रदः 45 सर्वकामदः 104	
कालः	18			91	58	
काष्ठा	22			138		
खं	19		व्योम 4			
× गभस्तिमान	18			गभस्तिः 131		10
चराचरात्मा	28			136		

Epithets	SN (mb 3.3)	ŚR (mb7.173)	MP (mb. 12.325)	ŚS (mb. 13.17)	VS (mb. 13. 135)	AH (R.6.105)
जयः	26			55 ; विजयः 50	29 ; 67	
जीभूतः	24					घनवृष्टिः 13
जीवनः	24				112	
× तमोनुदः	24					तिमिरोन्मथन 11
× तेजः	19			43	94	
× तेजसां पतिः	21			तेजस्करं 43		
त्रिविष्टपम्	27			140		
त्वष्टा	18			101	19	
देहकर्ता	28				शरीरभूतभृत् 66	
द्वादशात्मा	27					15
धन्वन्तरिः	26			101	भेषजं, भिषक् 75	
धाता	18	68			18 ; 115	
धूमकेतुः	26			101 ; धूमकेतनः 80		वह्निः 9
पक्षाः	22			पक्षः 138		
परायणम्	19				75	
पिता	27			139		
पितामहः	27			139	प्रपितामह 117	
पुरुषः	23	22			57	
प्रजाद्वारम्	27			140		
प्रजाध्यक्षः	24			प्रजापतिः 33		प्रजापतिः 8
× प्रभाकरः	18					9
प्रशान्तात्मा	28			54		
प्राणधारणः	26			111	प्राणदः 21,48 प्राणकृत् प्राणजीवन 116	
ब्रह्मा	20			131		8

Epithets	SN (mb 3.3)	ŚR (mb7.173)	MP (mb. 12.325)	ŚS (mb. 13,17)	VS (mb. 13,135)	AH (R. 6,105)
भूतपतिः	25	भूतपतिः 25		110		
भूतादिः	25				17	
भूताश्रयः	25				भूतावासः 89	
माता	27			139		
मासाः	22			मासः 138		
× मित्रः (मैत्रेण वपुषान्वितः)	28			101		
मुहूर्ताः	22			मुहूर्तः 138		
मृत्युः	18	67	प्रजानिधनकरः 4		अन्तकः 68	14
मोक्षद्वारम्	27			140		
योगी	23			39	104; सदायोगी 31	
× रविः	18			102	107	
रुद्रः	20				शिवः, स्थाणुः 17 ; 26	शिवः 8 रौद्रंवपुः 19
लोकाध्यक्षः	24			74	28	
वरदः	26	32 ; 21	वरप्रदः 4	30, 134	49	
वरुणः	24			जलेश्वरः 75	72	
वायुः	19			115, अनिलः 97		9
× विवस्वान्	20			137		
विशालः	23			121		
विश्वकर्मा	24			94	19	21
विश्वात्मा	28	68			37	
विष्णुः	20			31; 101		8

Epithets	SN (mb 3.3.)	ŚR (mb7.173)	MP (mb 12.325)	ŚS (mb 13.17)	VS (mb 13. 135)	AH (R.6.105)
वेदकर्ता	21			वेदकारः 78		
वेदाङ्गः	21				27	
वैश्रवणः	20			101		
व्यक्ताव्यक्तः	23		4	121		
शाश्वतः	23			32	26,80	
शुचिः	20			93,149	30,40	
शौरिः	20				50,82	
× संवत्सरकरः	23			38 संवत्सरः138	संवत्सरः 23 58	
सनातनः	23		4			
सर्वतोमुखः	25			57	100	
सर्वभूतनिषेवितः	25			भूतनिषेवितः 93		
× संविता	18			102,137	107,117	
सागरः	24	अपां पतिः 38	सलिल पतिः 4	पयोनिधिः 85	अपांनिधिः 48	अपां पतिः 8
सुवर्णः	25			82	सुवर्णवर्णः 92	सुवर्णसदृशः 10
सूक्ष्मात्मा	28			136	सूक्ष्म 62	
× सूर्यः	18		4		7	
सोमः	19			36		8
स्कन्दः	20			101	49	8
स्वर्गद्वारम्	27			140		

REFERENCE NOTES

[1] This and the succeeding references in this article to the Mahābhārata (mb) are to the Mb, critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

[2] पुरा सृष्टानि भूतानि पीड्यन्ते क्षुधया भृशम् ।
ततोऽनुकम्पया तेषां सविता स्वपिता इव ॥५॥
गत्वोत्तरायणं तेजो रसानुद्धृत्य रश्मिभिः ।
दक्षिणायनमावृत्तो महीं निविशते रविः ॥६॥
क्षेत्रभूते ततस्तस्मिन्नोषधीरोषधीपतिः ।
दिवस्तेजः समुद्धृत्य जनयामास वारिणा ॥७॥
निषिक्तश्चन्द्रतेजोभिः सूयते भूगतो रविः ।
ओषध्यः षड्रसा मेध्यास्तदन्नं प्राणिनां भुवि ॥८॥
एवं भानुमयं मूलं भूतानां प्राणधारणम् ।
पितैव सर्वभूतानां तस्मात्तं शरणं व्रज ॥९॥ mb. 3. 3.

[3] धौम्येन तु यथा प्रोक्तं पार्थाय सुमहात्मने ।
नाम्नामष्टशतं पुण्यं………… ॥१७॥ *ibid*

[4] The figures within brackets following the names of the Sun stand for the number of the verse in which the name or names occur in the hymn (Mb 3. 3) which is the subject of this paper.

[5] For the significance of these Ṛgvedic names see 'Vedic Mythology', A. A. Macdonell. pp. 30.ff

[6] **रविः** according to uṇādi, 4. 589 is derived from **रु (शब्दे)**. It may be pointed out in this connection that Mitra, who in the Ṛgveda signifies the beneficient aspect of Sun-god is described in the Ṛgveda as one who brings men together, uttering his voice **'जनं च मित्रो यतति ब्रुवाणः'** (7. 36. 2).

[7] **ऐन्धनः** produced from fuel (as fire), Monier Williams, 'Sanskrit English Dictionary'.

[8] **अंशुः** is marked in the critical text by a wavy line which indicates that the reading is less than certain. Another variant reading for **अंशुः** is **अंशः**. It may be pointed out that **अंशः** which occurs in the Ṛgveda is almost synonymous with **भगः** another name of the Sun. See Macdonell. *op.cit,* pp. 45ff. cf. mb 12. 201. 15, **भग, अंशः अर्यमा मित्रः** who are included among the **आदित्याः ।**

[9] **मणिः** resplendent jewel. It may also indicate a Sun-crystal : cf. **'उदीचि प्रथमसमावृत्ते आदित्ये कंसं वा मणिं वा परिमृज्य प्रतिस्वरे यत्र शुष्कगोमयमसंस्पर्शयन् धारयति तत् प्रदीप्यते ।' निरुक्तम्,** 7.23. **दुर्ग** in his commentary explains **मणि** by **आदित्य-मणि** a sun-crystal.

[10] **धन्वन्तरिः—'धन्वनि+तरि**=moving in a curve'—Monier Williams, 'Sanskrit English Dictionary'. In the mb. 1. 16. 37, **ध०** is described as rising out of the ocean, with pot in hand full of nectar. (**धन्वन्तरिस्ततो देवो वपुष्मानुदतिष्ठत । श्वेतं कमण्डलुं बिभ्रदमृतं यत्र तिष्ठति ॥**) ; in mb 13.100.12, a reference is made to an

oblation offered to ध० in the north-eastern region. (धन्वन्तरेः प्रागुदीच्यां प्राहुबलिम् ।) Suśruta (1.1.7) refers to ध० as the god who keeps off old age, disease and death from gods. (अहं हि धन्वन्तरिरादिदेवो जरारुजामृत्युहरोऽमराणाम् cf. Ṛgveda, 10.37.4 in which the Sun is described as one who drives away sickness, disease and evil dream.

[11] cf. मैत्रायणि-उपनिषद् (6. 14-16) which dwells on the idea : 'सूर्यो योनिः कालस्य' ।

[12] धूमकेतुः=The god of fire, cf. Ṛgveda, 5.11.3 ; 8.43.4. cf. Mb. 1.216.1 ; 1.97.17

धूमकेतुः in Mb 6.3.12 means an inauspicious comet, which meaning, it is contended, may not be meant here in the hymn.

[13] cf. Ṛgveda, 10.170.4 in which the epithet Viśvakarmā is applied to the Sun.

[14] अरविन्दाक्षः, पुष्कराक्षः, पुण्डरीकाक्षः, पद्मनिभेक्षणः which occur as the epithets of Viṣṇu in the Viṣṇusahasranāma (mb. 13.135). Vide Appendix to this article at the end in which the epithet अरविन्दाक्ष is listed.

[15] R. G. Bhandarkar : 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.' (B.O.R.I) pp. 217—221 ; R. C. Hazra : 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' vol. I (Calcutta) pp. 28-29.

[16] See S. K. De 'Aspect of Sanskrit Literature' (Calcutta, 1959) p. 64.

[17] (कौन्तेयः)……अपश्यद् ब्राह्मणर्षभान् ॥१४॥
दान्तान् वेदव्रतस्नातान् स्नातानवभृथेषु च ।
सहस्रानुचरान् सौरान् अष्टौ दशशतानि च ॥१५॥ 7.15

The second line of verse is underlined with a wavy line in the critical text, indicating that the text is 'less than certain'.

[18] mb 3.139.639*, a starred passage, the star indicating that the passage is an insertion.

[19] 'Mārtaṇḍa' occurs in earlier literature but the origin and meaning of the word are obscure and its association with the Sun is not as clear as in later literature. In the Ṛgveda, 10.72.89, 'Mārtaṇḍa' is referred to as the 8th son of Aditi who first threw him away and later brought him back. In the mb (12. 329.44), Mārtaṇḍa is called 'Śrāddha-deva', the god associated with the manes. mb 1.70.9 describes Mārtaṇḍa as the son of Yama and the father of Manu. In the Mb. 12. 201.17 he is said to be eighth Prajāpati and the father of Aśvins. Only in Mb. 3.42.11 Mārtaṇḍa appears to mean the 'Sun'.

[20] Māthara appears in one passage of the mb (12.281.8) as the son of a sage.

The Evolution of the Superstructure of the Garbhagriha of Temples in Gujarat

By

KANTILAL F. SOMPURA

The architectural form of the structural temple enshrining an image seems to have fully evolved in the Gupta period. The covered and enclosed sanctum (*garbhagṛiha*) is built upon the base (*Adhisthāna* as *pīṭha*). In the beginning the sanctum was covered by a flat roof which was in course of time replaced by superstructure in form of a spire (*Śikhara*) pyramidal or curvilinear in shape.

In temple architecture one type of structure is distinguished and differentiated from other types mainly by the shape of the *Śikhara*. By the shape of the *Śikhara* we have to understand the inner shape that is to say the original shape at horizontal section. The curvilinear lines are developed on the outer face in a later day construction. Thus the curvilinear and bulging aspect has no functional side and is chiefly ornamental in design, i.e., it is a subsidiary feature built into the square *Śikhara* as a matter of ornamentation in the course of the development of temple architecture. And so the shape of the horizontal section of the *Śikhara* has become a determining factor in the classification of styles of temple architecture.

Taking the shape of the *Śikhara* as the fundamental basis of classification, nearly all the ancient Indian writers and authorities have laid down three main styles of temples known as '*Nāgara*', '*Drāviḍa*', and '*Vesara*'[1]. If the shape of the *Śikhara* is square (*yugāśra*, i.e., *caturśra*) the temple is said to have belonged to *Nāgara* class, if circular (*vṛttātmaka*), to the *vesara* class ; if facetted (*ṣaduragāśra*) (i.e., hexagonal or octagonal), to the *Drāviḍa* class.[2] Thus *Nāgara* shrine has a square *śikhara*, i.e., it will be a pyramid on a square base, ending in a point.

The architectural monuments of temples in Gujarat mainly belong to *Nāgara* style.

The two distinct prominent features of the *Nāgara* style are revealed one in planning and the other in elevation.

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[1] Narrated in Mānasāra, Mayamata, Tantrasamuccaya, Iśāngurudevapaddhati, Kāmikāgama, Śilparatna, Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra, Aparājitapṛaccha, etc.

[2] Mānasāra LIII, 53-54.

(1) In plan it is always a square with a number of offsets of lateral projections in the middle on each side, which make it almost star-shaped externally.

(2) In elevation it exhibits a higher tower (*śikhara*) inwards in a convex curve, for we have the form '*sukanāsa śikhara* (i.e., the *śikhara* which is curved like the parrot's beak) in the *Purāṇas*.

The word *śikhara* is used, here, in the sense of the superstructure of the *garbhagṛiha* of a temple, and denotes the whole superstructure including the crown (*Āmalaka*) and the final (*Kalaśa*).

In respect to the structural development of the *śikhara* style in India the two principal varieties (i) the pyramidal shape and (ii) the curvilinear shape are prominent. Both the superstructures have functed bodies, which are either straight or curved, and are terminated by a platform (the neck, *skandha*) and above it rests the crowning position whence rises the finial.

(i) *The pyramidal superstructure has several types:*

(a) The first type is one formed of slabs. This is represented in dolmen type shrines.

(b) The second type consists of straight trunk with round edged slabs. The slabs of diminishing size are placed on the flat roof to bring out an enormous size both in the superstructure and the projection thereof. Roofs superimposed on roofs forming double-roofed, triple-roofed (i.e., *Dvichhādya, Trichhādya*) temples. This type of roof is found in *chhādya prāsādas* and had its prototype in the first type.

(c) In the third type, the pyramidal superstructure is composed of storeys (or *Bhūmis*).

(ii) *The curvilinear superstructure:*

The curvilinear *śikhara* is prescribed by means of division in geometrical progression by four-fold division (*caturguṇasūtra*). This is the underlying principle of the buttressment of the curvilinear superstructure.

The curvilinear *śikhara* is composed of an orderly grouping of miniature multiples of itself.

In the simplest form of a square shrine, miniature spire or *urusṛingas* or turret is applied over each (bhadra) central buttress, the whole being crowned and bounded together by the weight of corrugated circular number of solid stone called *āmalaka*. Here the *śikhara* is no longer one-spire number but it is a group of members, its lower portion is surrounded by a system of *urusṛingas* (turrets) and small turrets each being a replica in miniature of the large central spire.

The pre-Calukyan phase:

Among the surviving pre-Calukyan temples in Gujarat the oldest one is that of Gop (Dist. Jamanagar, Saurashtra).

In plan the temple of Gop consists of a square covered court, the larger size of the latter producing a spacious aisle all around. This aisle was flat-roofed and out of its centre rose a pyramidal structure covering the shrine and its cells. The pyramidal tower is in two tiers, a square section surmounted by a substantial finial, or *amalaśilā,* which is circular in plan. On each side of the lower tier are two *caitya* dormoss while the upper tier has only one and it is the position, proportions and general design of these ornamental arched projections that give this building much of its character.[3]

Due to its unusual shape Cousens has described it as stranger in this region.[4] He finds certain striking similarities between this temple and the early Kashmirian monuments, particularly the Martand Temple in Kashmir, in two important respects, the stepped out pyramidal roof with caitya arches in the courses, and in the trefoil arches seen around the lower terraced basement. According to him the type was introduced into this region from Kashmir by the sun worshipping ancestors of the Mers. This view of Cousens, though accepted by archæologists including Coomarswamy[5] and Percy Brown,[6] suffers, however, from two distinct flaws. The history of the ancestors of the Mers is not yet fully clear and it is not definitely known that they originally hailed from Kashmir. Secondly none of the Kashmir temples of the type, with which similarities are suggested can be dated earlier than the 8th cent. A.D. whereas the Gop temple is admitted to be about two centuries older.[7]

The absence in Kashmir of any example of the type of a date earlier to that of Gop stands at present in the way of acceptance of the hypothesis of Kashmirian origin of the Gop temple. Moreover certain features of Kashmirian temples are absent from the Gop temple. All these would suggest that the conception of the Gop temple was distinct from that of the Kashmirian sun-temple.

The two major features in the composition of the Gop temple, followed also in several other monuments of the region evidently of this class, are the situation of the sanctum within a covered ambulatory and the stepped arrangement of the roof. Shri S. K. Sarasvati observes a slightly different expression of the storeyed conception of the superstructure in the Gupta temple. According to him the bold and emphatic steps in the roof of the temple at Gop resemble though in a less propounded manner, the storeys in receding stages, characteristics of composition of the roof in the Gupta temple and low in plausibility to the suggestion made above. The appearance of *caitya* arches as gables on the roof is very old and may be traced back to the days of Bharhut.[8]

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[3] Percy Brown. Indian Architecture (Buddhist & Hindu), p. 160.

[4] Cousens, Somnath & others, Medieval Temples of Kathiawad, p. 6.

[5] Coomarswamy, A. K., History of Indian & Indonesian Art, p. 82.

[6] Percy Brown : Indian Architecture, p. 159.

[7] Recently a radio-carbon test of the wood fragment found in the Gop temple was conducted by Dr. Syamdas Chatterji in the physics laboratory, Uni. Colleges of Science & Technology, Calcutta.

According to the test, Dr. Chatterji reports, the wood fragment is approximately 1400 years old. The view of the archaeologist, who place the temple in the 6th cent. A.D. is thus confirmed by a scientific method of dating objects. Dr. H. D. Sankalia (Archaeology of Gujarat, p. 59) inclined to ascribe the temple to the 5th cent. A.D. (S. E. f.n. 77, p. 696).

Shri K. V. Soundar Rajan upholds that the temple of Gop is basically a combination of the stepped pyramidal shape of the indigenous Caulukyan sub-orders with the ornamental *caitya* window motif.[9]

The temples at Than (old Jain temple), Visvada, Pindara, Bilesvara, Balej, Bhansar, Śrinagar, Khimesvara, Navidhsaveda, Sonkansari, Porbandar, Kadvar, Kalsar and a few others in Saurashtra belong to the same class as that of Gop.

These temples are all characterised by stepped pyramidal superstructures. These temples of Gop class, when closely examined, may enable us to determine the progress of the style in superstructure. The development is noticed in the progressive increase of the number of stages, in the gradual reduction of the heights of the steps, in more harmonious proportions between the lower and upper elements of the structure and in a general refinement of the contours. The temple of *Śiva* at Bileśvara represents, perhaps, the latest development of the type. It is almost the most perfectly preserved temple of the group and hence enables us to understand the composition and design of the type in a more convincing manner. The sanctum is situated within a covered ambulatory and is surmounted by a pyramidal tower of stepped stages in receding tiers, numbering six, each stage on each face being relieved by ornamental *caitya* arches, gradually diminishing in number from six in the lowermost course to one in the uppermost. Each stage is further ornamented with a decorative finial at each extreme.

The superstructure of the pre-Caulukyan temple got gradually modified to curvilinear form. The different stages of the transition may be traced, for instance, as follows:—

(a) The old Sun-temples at Boricha and Kinderkheda.

(b) An old temple at Sonkansari and the Sun temple at Pasanavada.

(c) The Sun temples at Sutrapada, Pasthar and Akhodar.

(d) The *Kālikā mātā* temple at Dhrasanvel and the second Sun temple at Visavada.

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[8] Struggle for Empire, pp. 584-585.

[9] Indian Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII. i, p. 5.

The Caulukyan (Solanki) Phase

The Caulukyan (Solanki) period (A.D. 942-1299 A.D.) mark one of the most glorious period in the history of Gujarat and contribute much to its various cultural activities including those in the sphere of art and architecture.

Under the patronage of some eminent personages many of the architectural monuments were built during this period.

The superstructure, surmounting the sanctum and corresponding to the vertical chases rising from the surfaces of the wall to the apex, is the tall curvilinear *Śikhara* adorned on all sides with *urusṛngas* and *sṛingas* (partial and complete miniature replica of the main *śikhara*) and the crowning elements in the form of *āmalasāra* and *kalaśa.*

The *Śikhara* (spire) is one of the characteristics, which indicates the order or style to which the temple belongs.

As it is seen above the *Śikhara* of the pre-Caulukyan temples is stepped out pyramidal in shape composed of horizontal layers (*Chādyas*) one over the other. Right from the Gop temple, having a spire of three layers, till the land-mark is reached at Bileśvara temple which has six layers adorned with series of *Caitya*-arch ornaments flanked by *āmalaka* quoins at either corner of each layer. Temples having flat-roofed superstructure are described as *Chādya prāsādas* in *Samrāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* (Sm. Su.) They may be *Dwi-Chādya* or *Tri-Chādya* and sometimes even more *chādyas* superimposing each *chādya.* On this analogy we find some points of similarity in the pre-Caulukyan temples with those of *Chādya-prāsādas* propounded by Sm.Su. (XLIX) known as *Rucaka* Type.

Some of the pro-Caulukyan temples in Gujarat indicate the following different stages of transition from the pyramidal form to the curvilinear form of superstructure.

(a) The beginning of the transition may be traced in the modification of the right-angled steps into sloped steps relieved by a series of round-edged cornices. This is illustrated by the old Sun temples at Boricha and Kinderkheda and an old temple at Odadar. The tiers numbered four in the case of the former two temples and three in the case of the latter one. In this group the superstructure is devoid of *Caitya*-window ornament.

(b) The next stage may be traced to the superstructure in which the cornices are reduced in projection and shaped into half round or square or a combination of both and in which the central bay of each face is decorated with a vertical series of *Caitya* windows. This is illustrated in one of the old temples at Son Kansari, the Sun temple at Pasanavada the old *Śiva* temple at Ranavav and the Jagannath temple at Suvan (Barvara).

(c) The horizontal effect of the superstructure is further reduced by the introduction of more vertical lines in the general design. Vertical facets on each face marked with *āmalaka* quoins (mostly alternated with *Caitya* window ornaments) at corners and a continuous series of *Caitya* windows in the central bays, characterise this type of superstructure.

The best examples of this type are found in the Sun temples at Sutrapada, Basthar and Akhodar. The introduction of lateral projection from the base to apex begins to appear from the Sun temple at Akhodar. This form of superstructure is further illustrated by the small *Śiva* temple at Bileśvar the *Gaṇapati* temple at Ghumali, the small *Śiva* temple at Miyani and the group of temples at Roda.

The final stage of the transition is noticed in a group of temples, the superstructure wherein almost attains the plain curvilinear form in its general outline.

The form is illustrated by the *Kālikā-mātā* temple at Dharsanvel. Here the lateral projection rises from the bottom of the Śikhara as in the case of the temples of group C. The projection is of *tri-nāsikā* type. Four corner temples in the Pancayatam group at Pasthar have superstructure exactly of the same pattern. The Sun temple at Visavada has the same type of lateral projection but the *tri-nāsikā* is developed into *pañcanāsikā* in this example. The superstructure of the central temple in the Pañcayatana group at Pasthar is of the *pañcanāsikā* type but its lateral projection rises from the very base of the temple. The same applies to the small *Gaṇapati* temple at Miyani.

The *Śikhara* (spires) of the extant temples of the Caulukyan period exhibit complete transformation of form. Here we have, instead of stepped-out pyramidal shape, a structure bulging out in the middle, and then gradually curving inwardly till it reaches the apex.

Here, also two broad groups are seen in the extant temples. In one group the line of curve (*rekhā*) of the spire rises almost vertically, turning gradually inwards as it reaches the summit. In this variety we have only one *Śikhara* with its *āmalaka* and *finial.* In the other variety the line of curve of the *Śikhara* turns inwardly in the same manner, but with a different degree of acuteness, due to *Uruśṛiṅgas* and *Śṛiṅgas* over the lateral projections correspondingly emerged either from the ground plan or from the base of the *Śikhara.*

The reasons are obvious. The shrine having no lateral projections either in its ground plan or in the base of the *Śikhara* or in both will take the spire of the first variety as its superstructure, while the shrine having lateral projections in its ground plan like those of *Trināsikā, Pañcanāsikā,* etc., will take the second variety as its superstructure.

The first variety of the *Śikhara* is well illustrated by the temples having shrines without lateral projections.[10] These temples have only one finial (*Aṇḍaka*) at the top such as in the temples at *Sandara* (small), Wadhavan (Rāṇakadevī temple) Nandisvara (temple opposite to the main) and Odadar.

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[10] It may be noted here that some of the shrines of this type in extant temples seem to have a ground plan with a slight projection on all its sides at times cor-

In the second variety the spire of the shrine has several lateral projections corresponding to the ground plan or originated from its base. In the extant temples the common projection in the ground plan corresponding to the spire are either of *Trināsikā* or *Pancanāsikā* type, the *Saptanāsikā* projection being seen at times also.

The *Trināsikā* projection in the spire is resulted from the central projection flanked by two side projections which takes *uruśṛiṅga* and *śṛiṅga* mouldings over them. The *Pañcanāsikā* projection in the spire has a projected central projection flanked by two other projections of a lesser degree on its either side and an additional projection beyond each projection, all adorned with *śṛiṅgas*; the central one being surrounded by *uruśṛiṅgas* on all sides.[11]

All the vertical members of the *Śikhara* complex are adorned with *āmalasāra* or *āmalaka*[12] with finial (*Kalaśa*)[13] as their crowning ornaments. This finial is also known as *aṇḍaka*.[14]

The *Trināsikā, Pañcanāsikā,* etc., projections have several *aṇḍakas* (Kalaśa) which differentiate one variety of the temple from the other.

In the extant temples of the Caulukyan phase the spires with *Trināsikā* projections are found adorned with 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 29, or 33 *aṇḍakas*.

For instance, the spires of the temples at Nandisvara (main) and Lovarali have 5 *aṇḍakas;* at Tukada 9 *aṇḍakas;* at Vadanagar (*Amthoramātā*); and Delmal (small temple of *Lakṣminārāyaṇa*) 13 *aṇḍakas;* at Taranetar, Kotai and Kumbharia 17 *aṇḍakas*, at Kasara (triple shrine), Sander Garad, Viramgam (double shrine), Miyani (*Nīlkanth* and Jain) 21 *aṇḍakas;* at Dhinoja; Sinddhapur (small shrine on the back of the *Rundramālā* temple 25 *aṇḍakas;* at Sunak, Dwarka (*Rukṣmaṇi*), Piludra, Prabhas (*Rudreśvara*) 29 *aṇḍakas* and at Prabhas (*Saaibhuṣaṇa* restored) 33 *aṇḍakas*.

The spires with *pañcanāsikā* projections are found adorned with 41, 53 or 65 *aṇḍakas*. For instance the spires of the temples at Vadanagar

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responding even to a spire over them. But the projection is so negligible that no crowning member is allotted to it, and it merges into the main facets of the spire at the apex.

[11] The *Śṛiṅga* is a miniature in the round, while the *urśṛiṅga* (strictly speaking uruṣriṅga) is a miniature carved in half relief.

[12] It denotes a round cogged member of the superstructure, resembling in shape the *āmalaka* (Enbrice Myrobalan) fruit.

[13] & [14] The finial bares the shapes of the *Kalaśa* (pitcher). The *Kalaśa* is surmounted by a *Bijapuraka* (Citron). As a whole it forms the oblong shape of an *aṇḍaka* (egg).

(*Hāṭakeśvara*) has 41 *aṇḍakas*, at Becharaji 53 *aṇḍakas* and at Turanga (*Ajitanātha*) 65 *aṇḍakas*."

(ii) *Canonical principles discerned*

In early works references to the height of the *Śikhara* occur several times. *Matsya Purāṇa* (M.P.) states that the height of the *Śikhara* must be twice that of the walls of the *garbhagṛiha*. The other works like Agnipurāṇa, Garuḍa-purāṇa, (G.P.) Visvakarmā prakāśa (VKP.), etc., follow the height prescribed by M.P. Further the curvilinear shape of the *Śikhara* to be obtained by applying the various shape of the *Śikhara* to be obtained by applying the various methods of curves is also solicited by G.P. These works also refer to the *āmalaka* as being its crowning member and mention that it occupies one-fourth part of the height of the *śikhara*. But the details pertaining to the several varieties and their manifestation due to the application of curve methods are wanting.

The types of the *śikharas* discussed by Sm. Su., broadly speaking fall into two heads (1) *Chādya-prāsādas* (XLIX) and (2) *Śikharānvita* (LII, LV, LVI, LVII, LX, LXIII etc.)

In a flat-roofed (*Chādya*) temples the pyramidal superstructure is formed by placing the slabs of diminishing size one over the other so as to bring out an enormous size both in the superstructure and projections thereof. Roof superimposed on roof, double-roofed (*dvichādya*), triple-roofed (*Tri-chādya*) is the subject-matter of Ch. XLIX of Sm. Su. The pre-Caulkyan extant temples of the group of the Gop temples fall into the varieties of temples described as *chādya-prāsādas* by Sm. Su.

Sm. Su. has given intensive expression to the *Śikharānvita* temples. The trunk of the *Śikhara* or *manjarī* which is referred to here is curvilinear. Its curvature gradually varies with the height of the shoulder course (*skandha*) from the base to the apex of the *Śikhara*. This curvilinear shape is described as *Padmakośa* or *Veṇukoṣa*, i.e., having a curved shape like that of lotus or the calyx of a bamboo. It encloses the vertical axis of the *Prāsāda* (shrine) till the upper portion of it known as *Kaṇṭha* or *Grīvā* (neck) is attained. Over it rests the *āmalaka* and the finial.

At its base the main or central *Śikhara* (also called, here, *mūlamanjarī*) covers the space occupied by the shrine proper. Following the lateral projections, the *uromanjarīs* (*uruśṛiṅgas*) and *śriṅgas* have their place. Each of the four curvilinear faces are adorned with an *Uromanjarī*, which is lower than the trunk of the *Mūlamanjarī* having the height of its chest only and which represents a replica in shape of an offset. Like the *mūlamanjarī*, it consists of the neck (*grīvā*), the *āmalaka* and the finial (*Kalaśa*). The corners (*Karṇas*) of the superstructure are fortified by small *Śikharas* (also known as *Karṇa śṛiṅgas* or *Karṇa Karmas*).

Sm. Su. has laid down manifold rules pertaining to the height of the *Śikhara* and its several mouldings. In the common varieties the height of the shoulder (*Skandha*) of the *Śikhara* is prescribed to be twice, two and a quarter times or two and a half times the width of the *prāsāda* (shrine proper)[15]. The *āmalasāraka* and *Kalaśa* are composed of several parts.

The general rules prescribed by Sm. Su pertaining to the height of the temples, etc., are wholly accepted by Aparājitapṛicchā (APPR.) as by other canonical works. But it has given greater importance to the construction of several varieties of curves, i.e., the profiles of the curvilinear *Śikhara.*

(a) *Candrakalā Rekhā*

Rekhā, i.e., the profile of a spire (*Śikhara*) above the *garbhagṛiha* involves methods of setting out curves. According to one aspect, i.e., *Candrakalā Rekhā,* rekhā is divided into *Khaṇḍas* which may be as many as three to eighteen giving rise to sixteen varieties in all.[16]

Each *Khaṇḍa* is divided horizontally into several prescribed digits, or parts technically known as *Kalā*; and vertically into divisions known as *Cāra.* By means of the prescribed ratio between *Kalā* and *Cāra* in profile. (*Rekhā*) of the *Śikhara* is attained. Consequently the total number of *Rekhās* comes up to (the total number Kalās 16 into the total number of *Cāra* 16) 256 in all. This is only one way of arriving at the *Rekhās.* These 256 *Rekhās* have specific names of their own.[17]

(b) *Udayakalā Rekhā.*

In the other method, i.e., in *Udayakalā Rekhā,* the profile or *Rekhā* of *Śikhara* is divided into 5 to 29 *Khaṇḍas,* which ultimately gives rise to 25 varieties of *Rekhās.*

Sm.Su. and APPR have enumerated as many as 364 and 453 varieties of temples respectively.

On examining the extant temples in Gujarat in relation to these numerous varieties, it is found that the temples illustrate at least eleven varieties mentioned in these works, as may be discerned from the ground plan as well as the number of *aṇḍakas* of their spires.

Among these varieties of temples a few varieties seem to have been discerned in the extant temples of Gujarat from the view-point of the ground plan as well as that of the number of the *āṇḍakas* that they have.

The temples of the first group described above belong to the *Vairāja* type as narrated by APPR in Ch. CLV. The temples of the second groups having several *aṇḍakas* such as 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 29, 33, 41, 53, 65, etc. belong to the sub-varieties like *Keṣari, Sarvatobhadra, Nandana, Nandaśāli, Nandīṣa, Mandira, Śrīvatsa, Amṛitodbhava, Hemakūṭa Indranīla* and *Ratnakūṭa* prescribed by the *Keśarādi Sāndhāra prāsāda* Ch. CLIX of APPR which is the same as Ch. LVI of Sm.Su.

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[15] Sm. Su. LVII, 122, 329, 455, 492, etc. In particular instances the height of the *Śikhara* is, however, prescribed to be only slightly more than or even one and a quarter times to the width of the shrine (Sm. Su, LVI, 161, 165, 175, 176-181, etc.).

[16] For specific particulars of the different varieties vide APPR Intro., pp. XLIX-IXIV.

[17] APPR, CXXXIX, CXL.

The temples at Sander (small shrine), Wadhwan, Nandisvara (subordinate shrine) Odadar, etc., are of the *Vairāja* variety.

The temples of the second group characterised by several *aṇḍakas* may be identified with certain varieties mentioned in these works. They may be tabulated as follows:—

The temple or temples	*No. of aṇḍakas*	*Name of the variety*
(1) Nandiśvara (main)	5	*Keśarī*
(2) Tukada	9	*Sarvatobhadra*
(3) Vadnagar (Amthora) Delmal (small)	13	*Nandana*
(4) Taranetar, Kotai & Kumbharia	17	*Nandaśāli*
(5) Kesara, Saudar, Gorad, Viramgam (double shrined) and Miyani (Nilakantha, Jain).	21	*Nandiśa.*
(6) Dhinoj, Siddhpur (small) and Harassiddh.	25	*Mandira*
(7) Sunak, Dwarka (Rukmaṇi), Piludra, Prabhas (Rudras' vara).	29	*Śrīvatsa*
(8) Prabhas (Śaśibhuṣaṇa)	33	*Amṛitodbhava*
(9) Vadnagar (Hatakeśvara)	41	*Hemakūṭa*
(10) Becharaji	53	*Indranīla*
(11) Taranga	65	*Ratna Kūṭa*

Āmalaka forms the part of the *Śikhara.* The early works like M.P. Ag.P., etc., have allotted ¼ part of the *Śikhara* to be adorned with the *āmalaka.*[19] The later canonical works like Sm.Su. and APPR. and several others have described *āmalaka* with its finial (*Kalaśa*) as crowning member of the *Śikhara.*[20]

The *āmalaka* has a cogged rim. Its solid shape is that of a ring stone, it may be compared to an indented wheel the spokes being shown as ribs of its ring shape. The *āmalaka* crowns not only the main *śikhara* of the temple but every *uruśṛiṅga* and *śṛiṅga* as well. It is supported by the finial or *Kalaśa.*[21]

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[18] APPR, CXLI, 2-13.

[19] M.P. CCLXIX, 18-19 Ag. P. CIV, 10.

[20] Sm. Su. LVI, 49, 154; APPR. CXLII; Dipa IX, 63-67; 75-85 P.M. IV, 32.33.

All the pre-Caulukyan and Caulukyan temples are adorned with *āmalaka* with finial.

It will be seen here that the pyramidal form of the superstructure in the early examples of the Gop type has close affinity with the forms of superstructure of the various *chhādya-prāsādas* described in the Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra. While the different forms of the curvilinear superstructures of the extant Caulukyan temples can be identified with the corresponding varieties of the superstructure of *Śikharānvita prāsādas* specified in the canonical works.

Varahamihira on the Art of Exploring Underground Water-springs

By

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

This history of the art of exploring underground currents of water in India goes back to hoary antiquity. It appears to have reached a fairly developed stage as early as the sixth century B.C. For in the *Vaṇṇupatha-jātaka*[1] we find the following story:—Once the Bodhisattva, born as a merchant, set out on a mercantile adventure. While passing through a wilderness, he lost his wood and water. In search of water he ranged to and fro, while it was still early and cool until he came across a clump of *kuśa* grass. 'This grass', thought he, 'can only have grown up here, thanks to the presence of water underneath'. He dug out a hole and up rose the water in the hole till it was as high as a palm tree. With due allowance made for exaggeration, it indicates that one of the methods of ascertaining the presence of water-springs underneath was to make a minute observation of its vegetal accessories. Unfortunately, no treatise of such an early date affording a detailed discussion of this subject has come to light so far.

Varāhamihira (505 A.D.), one of the greatest astrologers that India ever produced, deals with this subject in some detail in Ch. 53 of his encyclopaedic work, the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*.[2] He calls this art by the name

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[1] *Jātaka* (V. Fausböll's ed.), Vol. I, No. 2.

[2] References are to Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākara Dvivedīs edition with Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary, published as Vol. X of Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.

[3] *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (hereafter referred to as *Bs.*), LIII. 1, 99. Halāyudha gives *daka* as one of the words denoting water :—*Proktaṁ prājñair bhuvanam amṛtaṁ jīvanīyaṁ dakaṁ cha.* For the use of *daka* in the sense of water cf. *Divyāvadāna*, VIII, 262ff. (*daka-rākshasa*); *Suśruta*, I. 26.8; II.7; III.8; V.2.36. Grammarians derive this form from *udaka* according to *Prishodarādi*. *Dagārgala* is a variant.

The word *argala* means a wooden belt, pin, bar, bolt, latch, etc. (vide V.S. Apte's *Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. *argala*), and *dak* (g) *ārgala* should, therefore, mean a bar or obstruction of water. But Varāhamihira has used it to denote the science of discovering water :—*Dharmyaṁ yaśasyaṁ cha vadāmy ato 'haṁ dakārgalaṁ yena jalopalabdhiḥ*, *Bs*, LIII.1. Monnier-Williams accordingly gives its meaning as 'water-key', 'examining the soil in searching for wells or rules for doing so' (vide his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v. *Dagārgala*).

[4] *Bs*, CVI. 7.

dakārgala[3] or *udakārgala*[4]. He was, however, not the first to write on this subject. He admits that his treatment of this topic was based on the writings of the Sārasvata and of Manu.[5] Bhaṭṭotpala (cir. middle of the 9th century A.D.[6]) in his commentary on this chapter actually quotes as Sārasvata's as many as thirty-one verses in the Anushṭubh metre, showing thereby that Sārasvata's work, which formed the main source of Varāhamihira's chapter on *Dakārgala,* was available in the ninth century A.D. But it appears to have been lost soon after, for Alberuni, writing in 1030 A.D., mentions Sārasvata as one of the 'Hindu scholars of whom we know their names, but not the title of any book of theirs'.[7] As regards Manu, Varāhamihira refers to him as an authority on *Indramaha* (festival in honour of Indra's banner),[8] *Dakārgala*[9], temple- architecture [9]a, *Sākuna,* etc. Now, as the topics in connection with which Manu has been referred to by Varāhamihira come under the purview of a *Saṁhitā,* his work must evidently have belonged to that class. And Kern actually informs us that Manu is regarded as one of the *Saṁhitā*-proclaimers and is mentioned as an authority on astrology in the *Gārgī Saṁhitā.*[11] The fact that 'Utpala does not cite verses from Manu on topics like temple-architecture and Indra's banner has led Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane to hold that 'Utpala had not before him the work of Manu on these topics, though Varāhamihira had it before him'.[12] The learned scholar seems to have overlooked the fact that all these topics form part of a *Saṁhitā* and they should not be looked upon as providing subject-matter for independent treatises. Now, as Utpala really cites as Manu's six verses in the Anushṭubh metre, five on *Dakārgala*[13] and one on *Śākuna,*[14] there can be no doubt whatever that what may be called *Mānavī Saṁhitā* was available to Utpala when he wrote his scholium on the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā.* Whether this Manu was the same as or distinct from the homonymous *dharmaśāstra-kāra,* cannot be ascertained in the present state of our knowledge.

However, as the works of Sārasvata and Manu are no more extant and as this subject is not known to have been dealt with in any other ancient

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[5] *Bs,* LIII.99.

[6] For a detailed discussion of the date of Bhaṭṭotpala see my article in *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4, pp. 247-259.

[7] E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India,* Vol. I, p. 158.

[8] *Bs,* XLII. 39, 51, 52-53.

[9] *Ibid.,* LIII. 99.

[9]*a. Ibid.,* LV. 31.

[10] *Ibid.,* LXXXV. 18.

[11] *Bs,* (H. Kern's ed.), Introduction, p. 42.

[12] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vols. XXIV-XXV, p. 12.

[13] On *Bs,* LIII. 102.

[14] On *Bs,* LXXXV. 18.

Indian treatise also, the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* chapter under review forms the only source of our information about the state of hydrological knowledge in ancient India. This chapter appears to have been considered unique in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, and it was studied as an independent treatise as is clear from the fact that independent manuscripts containing only this chapter (called *Jalārgala-śāstra*[15] and *Dṛigargala,*[16] an error for Dakārgala or Dagārgala) are reported to have been discovered. Even in our own times, this chapter has been published independently and has been widely popular with architects having some attachment with things ancient. Some architects, who happen to be my personal friends, tell me that their experience has shown the correctness of many of the details and general principles laid down by Varāhamihira. A brief analysis of its contents is given in the lines that follow.

Means of Ascertaining Water-Veins (*śirā-nimittāni*). It was recognised that though all the water falling from heaven is originally of the same colour and taste, it becomes different in these respects on account of the difference of the soil (2).[17] Sub-soil water-veins, some running higher and others deeper, are compared to the veins in the human body (1). These veins were variously named; eight veins in the different directions were known after the presiding deities of those directions,[18] the ninth in the centre being called *mahāśirā* (great vein). Other veins issuing from the above[19] bore different designations (3-4), the one called Kumuda (a vein 2 cubits to th north-west of a Bignonia in a dreary region) being mentioned by name (23). The veins running from the infernal regions and in the four quarters were regarded as auspicious and those issuing from intermediate points evil (5). The presence of water was ascertained mainly through its vegetable accessories, e.g., presence of a certain tree in a waterless tract, sometimes accompanied by an anthill[20] or a snake's abode[21]; characteristics of an aquatic vegetation in a waterless region (47), a plot overgrown with grass in a grassless plain or a grassless spot in the midst of a soil abounding with grass (52), a thorny tree in the midst of thornless ones or a thornless tree in the midst of thorny ones (53), one of the branches of a tree being faded or bent (55), a tree showing unnatural symptoms in its fruits and blossoms[22] (56), two on more trees growing conjointly (72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 83, 96), so on and so forth. It is further stated that if the sprouting corn perishes, grows abundantly[23] or looks pale in a single spot of a field (61), the soil produces a deep sound when struck by the feet (54), and ground streams or smokes (60) or slopes downwards (93), there must be water underground. Similarly, the occurrence of a piece of an unusual appearance (grass) in a ground otherwise uniform and devoid of grass, trees or shrubs (90), insects frequenting a spot without having their abode there (93), a row of anthills with one prominent above the rest and the corn in a field withering away or not growing at all (95) indicate the presence of water underneath. Bushes and trees growing low, looking smooth and having their long boughs hanging down (49, 100) were also taken to indicate the existence of underground water-veins. We are also told that an isolated cold spot in a warm ground denotes cold water, while a solitary warm spot in a cold ground indicates hot water-springs (94). A copper-coloured soil mixed with gravel, it is stated, yields astringent water ; red-brown soil, brackish water ; a pale yellow earth is indicative of saline water, and a blue soil of sweet water (104).[24] The fact that water-springs in a woody tract (*jāṅgala*) are situated at a lower level than in a watery country (*anūpa*), and in a desert even lower than in woody region is also recorded (62, 86, 89, 93). Varāha-mihira describes in detail various signs that one is likely to come across in the course of digging a well, the quantity and the taste of water, etc. which need not detain us here.

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[15] *A Classified Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Library*, Mysore, 1922, p. 74, No. B. 478; *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of South India*, Nos. 461, 3146, 3147.

[16] *Catalogue of Sanskrit & Prakrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, p. 81, No. 243.

[17] Cf. *Suśrutā*, I. M5. 3-x; *Kāsyapa-saṁhitā*, p. 329, 1.15-
Figures in brackets refer to the serial numbers of verses of *Bs*, Ch. LIII.

[18] Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛiti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Moon and Śiva were regarded as the guardians of east, south-east, south, south-west, west, north-west, north and north-east respectively.

[19] Kern's translation (*JRAS*, 1873, p. 300), viz. 'There are hundreds of others that issue from different quarters', does not appear to be quite correct. *Etābhyaḥ* should be taken to refer to the nine veins mentioned above.

[20] *Bs*, LIII. 9, 12, 14, 16, 19, 24, 25, etc.

[21] *Ibid.*, LIII. 33, 35, 38, 41, 67, 68, 70.

Situation of Wells. The presence of a well in the south-east, south-west or north-west of a town or village was regarded as inauspicious and supposed to bring about various distresses, wells in other directions being approved (97-98).

Embankment of a Pond. We also get some details about the embankment of the ponds. The embankment (*pālī*) extending from east to west, it is said, retains water for a long time, while that from north to south does not, for the latter is often broken by the billows roused by the wind. Varāhamihira advises one wishing to make such a pond to check the flow of water with strong timber, or stones and the like (the commentator adds burnt bricks and large pebbles), the soil being hardened by the trampling of elephants, horses, etc. On one side, it is stated, an outlet should be made, the passage being built with stones, and a panel without aperture fixed in a frame, and covered by grit heaped against it. The banks of ponds were shaded by trees (118-120).

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[22] E.g. *kaṇṭakārikā* without thorns and with white blossoms (57), a betelnut tree with two tops in a waterless region (58), a white blossoming Pterospermum or Butea (59.

[23] Kern's rendering, 'Where, on a single spot of a field, the sprouting corn perishes, or looks thin or exceedingly pale . . .', is not correct. *Snigdha* is rightly taken by Utpala to refer to exceedingly good crop :—*Athvā tatraiva kshetroddeśe snigdhaṁ sasyam atīva bhavati.*

[24] *Suśruta,* Sūtrasthāna, XIV. 5-6.

Recipe for Clearing Water (121-2). The art of water-treatment had also reached a developed stage by the time of Varāhamihira, who prescribes a device for clearing water. A mixture of *añjana, mustā, uśīra, rājakośātaka,* emblic myrobalan and *kataka* nuts was used in order to impart clarity, good taste and smell and other qualities to water.[25]

In an agricultural country like India the importance of the art of divining subsoil water can hardly be overestimated. Notwithstanding the great industrial development which our country has gone through, Indian economy is mainly agricultural. The question of providing suitable means of irrigation and drinking water in the different parts of the country continues to pose a serious problem. While we must of necessity adopt modern scientific methods and techniques for solving this formidable problem, it is equally desirable to conduct researches and know more and more about hydrological practices in ancient India. These practices had certainly a scientific basis, the theoretical and applied study of which will go a long way in satisfying the need of water for purposes of irrigation and drinking.

[25] Cf. *Suśruta,* I, 45.17. The constellations of Hasta, Maghā, Anurādhā, Pushya, Dhanishṭhā, the three Uttarās, Rohiṇī and Śatabhishak are recommended for the commencement of digging a well, cf. LIII. 123. At the beginning of digging, oblation was made to Varuṇa, and a plug of banyan or rotang was put into the soil at the place of the vein and honoured with flowers, perfumes and incenses, cf. LIII. 124.

Intuitional Totality in the Meghaduta

By

DIMBESWAR SARMA

Dr De in his edition of the Meghadūta has referred to a number of critics, both ancient and modern, who have adversely criticised it as defective and unreal. Cf.— "...The selection of a friendly cloud as the bearer of the Yakṣa's message from Rāmagiri to Alakā is undoubtedly a strange device ; it is criticised by the old rhetorician Bhāmaha as defective and by some modern scholars as unreal. Perhaps anticipating such views, the poet himself offers the almost demented condition of the sorrowful Yakṣa as an apology. But even if it is a highly poetical, it is not an unnatural personification, when one bears in mind the noble mass of Indian monsoon clouds, which seems almost instinct with life as it travels from the southern tropical sky to the snows of the Himālaya.

"But the unreality of the poem does not end here. It has been urged that the temporary character of a very brief separation and the absolute certainty of re-union make the display of grief unmanly and its pathos unreal. Perhaps the sense of irrevocable loss would have made the motif more effective ; the trivial setting gives an appearance of sentimentality to the real sentiment of the poem. The device of a curse, again, in bringing about the separation—a motif which is repeated in another form in the Abhijñāna Śakuntalā—is also criticised ; for the breach here is caused by an external agency, and not by psychological complications, to which we are more inclined in modern times. But the criticism loses sight of the predominantly sentimental character of Sanskrit poetry and judges a device by a standard to which it does not profess to conform".[1]

These critics while adversely criticising the Meghadūta for certain unrealities in the formation of the plot do forget that they are applying a standard of criticism quite alien to the soil which gave birth to the poet.[2]

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[1] Dr De,—Introduction, p. xxxi. Also see Dāsgupta and De, p. 133.

[2] "Bhāu Dāji has expressed the opinion that the love-lorn condition of the *Yakṣa* is the poet's own feeling ; and Hillerbrandt, in his excellent monograph on Kālidāsa, says the the same—"The idea need not appear too clever, (when one says) that in this (i.e. Megha-dūtam) the poet exprssees his own feelings and his own fate" (Hillebrandt Kālidāsa p. 32). Further Kālidāsa is highly original in his poem. No one before him ever thought of writing a whole poem on such a trifling subject as

The question of irrevocable loss does not arise, because in the Indian conception, any loss is temporary. Moreover, the poet has explained that the Yakṣa as well as the Yakṣī have experienced separation for the first time in life and therefore the grief felt by them is intensely acute.[3] What does it matter, then, whether the period of separation is long or short and specified or unspecified? The aim arrived at through psychological complications is sometimes, nay at all times, best served by arousing the sentiments (after all, psychological complications evoke a sentimental interest).[4] Moreover, there is a happy co-ordination in Kālidāsa between sentimentalism and intuition, because sentiments aroused impart a totalitarian grasp of the very thing presented.

What we mean by the above statement is that the separation of the Yakṣa from the Yakṣī has typified many similar separations and has brought in many things whose miserable states, it seems, the poet wants to ameliorate with the aid of the cloud. The Yakṣa addresses the cloud like this — "Thou art, O cloud, the protector of the afflicted, etc.[5] Again the wives of travellers, consoling themselves out of confidence of their husbands' return, will welcome the cloud, for at its appearance the husbands cannot neglect their wives in separation.[6] The cloud can remove the barrenness of the earth.[7] The Siddhas separated from their female ones will receive their embraces along with the rumbling noise of the cloud.[8] The river Nirvindhyā is pining in separation from the cloud and it is, therefore, betraying the fifth stage in the expression of love.[9] Further examples can be given to show that the poet has innumerable other temporary, nevertheless, acute

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'a cloud' or 'the tale of a love-lorn Yakṣa', from Bhawe pp. 3-4; see also pp. 5-9 for his criticism of the Meghadūta.

[3] Megha II. 31 and 50.

[4] "The vital law governing Hindu poetics is that it does not seek to represent life and character primarily or for their own sake; its aim is fundamentally aesthetic : by the delicate and harmonious rendering to awaken the aesthetic sense of the onlooker and gratify it by moving and subtly observed pictures of human feeling; . . . . An atmosphere of romantic beauty, a high urbanity and a gracious equipose of the feelings, a perpetual confidence in the sunshine and the flowers are the essential spirit of a Hindu play; pity and terror are used to awaken the feelings but not to lacerate them, and the drama must close on the note of joy and peace; the clouds are only admitted to make more beautiful the glad sunlight from which all came and into which all must melt away. It is in an art like this that the soul finds the repose, the opportunity for being confirmed in gentleness and in kindly culture, the unmixed intellectual and aesthetic pleasure in quest of which it turned away from the crudeness and incoherence of life to the magic region of Art" Ak (s) pp. 2-4.

[5] Megha. I. 7.

[6] Megha I. 8.

[7] Ibid I. 11.

[8] Megha I. 21 (i).

[9] Megha I. 28-29.

separations in mind which by choosing the cloud as the messenger for the Yakṣa can all be removed. Therefore there is an anticipation for many fulfilments along with the yearning of the Yakṣa for re-union and the selection of the cloud for carrying the errand from Rāmagiri to Alakā.

Thus it is crystal clear that the separation of the Yakṣa from the Yakṣī is not a single event the merely long or permanent nature of which thrown into description would have presented a picture of reality. On the contrary, the temporary character of the separation has conformed to the various descriptions given by the poet and has imparted a touch of reality in tune with the Indian belief of the transient character of every physical event. In other words, it is one in the stream of many fleeting incidents equally pathetic. Therefore the extremely temporary character of the separation has made the pathos real. As to the criticism levelled against the so-called unreality of the plot, imaginary setting, etc., the less said, the better. For it has failed to cognise one fundamental approach of the poet. The Yakṣa, being of the mid-region and now in exile on an earthly abode, can very well survey with his mind the different areas of these two regions and can lift up his imagination far above.[10] Therefore, he alone is able to visualise the actual nature of the cloud, that it is sprung from the world-renowned line of Puṣkara and Āvartaka and that it is the best officer of Indra capable of wearing shapes at will.[11] It is, therefore, possible on the part of the Yakṣa alone to see that the cloud can not only fulfil his desire but also can meet the cravings of many other things that have been anticipating its arrival. Again the Yakṣa and the cloud, both being of the mid-region, are a very fit medium for linking up the earthly with an ethereal region the quest of which is the object of all literature. Viewed from this standpoint, the criticim of the artificiality of the plot and the setting, etc., does not stand any scrutiny. Contrarily it has shown out clearly that by means of the so-called artificiality, etc., the poet has been able to take an integrated view of the whole picture he has presented and has brought over all the things his imagination can reach in an intutional totality. Here the particular incident of the Yakṣa's separation has, like a stream, absorbed many subordinate incidents and has marched to the sea of universal realisation. Viewed from this standpoint, the Yakṣa's separation has represented a particular which has tried its utmost to realise the universal through the selection of the cloud as the messenger, because the latter is a comforter in all separations. Here also, therefore, the particular has led to the realisation of the universal — a similarity which our poet has with Aristotelian metaphysics.

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[10] This *Yakṣa* who has first entered into our heart for a portion of our sympathy like the proverbial camel into the tent of the Arab, soon gets hold of it and like the *bhramarakīṭanyāya* very easily forms a oneness with us by the time we come to hear of the love his wife bears towards him. Every reader feels an imaginative sympathy with the *Yakṣa* and thinks temporarily that it is he himself that has been addressing the cloud to carry a message to his own wife separated from him by cruel fate. It is only at this stage that the *Sādhāraṇīkaraṇa* or the oneness becomes complete and we enjoy the poem . . . etc." See. Somayājī's Introduction pp. 17-18. Therefore the adverse criticisms above mentioned are not justified from this angle also.

[11] Megha I. 6.

From the above discussions, it is also clear that our poet deems Nature as a purposive system in which every single phenomenon conforms to the universal principle. Therefore he regards nature as a work of art with symphony and symmetry. With the request made by the Yakṣa, a similar vibration through natural symphony is raised in the cloud's mind and its consent to carry the errand is understandable.

Psycholoigcal Approaches in the Meghadūta

Even then the poet has made some psychological approaches in his request to the cloud so that it may readily agree to convey the news. The following analysis will bear out the nature of the psychological approach.

(i) *A formal reception in the traditional manner* :—The Yakṣa has received the cloud as an august personality with a floral *arghya* (Megha I. 4). This is generally done to a person of high respect or an exceptional merit. In the *Śāstras*, there is explicit mention of persons to be received with an *arghya.*[12] As soon as the cloud is so received, it has good reasons to be elated in mind so that the refusal becomes impossible.

(ii) *High praise with which the cloud is described* :—The cloud is classed with high-minded persons. It hails from the famous dynasty of Puṣkara and Āvartaka. Again the cloud is the resort of all afflicted persons (Megha I. 6-7). This will certainly so flatter it up as to make the refusal impossible.

(iii) *It is described as a Kinsman of the Yakṣa* :—The Yakṣa has related his wife as Bhātṛjāyā to the cloud (Megha I. 10). This means he is the brother of the cloud. Therefore the cloud has some duty to perform towards his brother. The cloud is again described as a friend of the Yakṣa (Megha I. 38).

(iv) *The temptations offered for enjoyment* :—It will suck up the watery contents of the streams and will thus be charged with water (Megha I. 20). Here an idea of the enjoyment of the rivers is thrown out which is held out as a temptation for enjoyment of the river Vetravati (Megha I. 24). Again the river Nirvindhyā is receiving the fifth stage in separation from the cloud. This emaciation is to be removed by enjoyment (Megha I. 28-29. See also I. 40-41). This idea of enjoyment will certainly tempt the cloud to convey the news and have a trip.

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[12] Vide Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra. I. iii. 2.

(v) *The pleasant character of the journey* :—Therefore with so many opportunities for enjoyments, the journey will certainly appear pleasant. Again a favourable breeze is impelling the cloud on in a very agreeable manner; the Cātaka is warbling melodiously; the female cranes will wait upon it (Megha I. 9). It will have an opportunity of adding more pleasure to the journey by seeing the damsels at Ujjain, though the path from the Nīca mountain will slightly be curved. (Megha I. 27). A cool breeze will gently fan the cloud when it moves on to Devagiri exhausted as it is with enjoyment. (Megha I. 42). The pleasant character of the journey is certainly an attraction.

(vi) *Opportunities to contract new friendship* :—Besides, the cloud will have many companions on its route to Alakā. Hearing the clap of its thunder, rājahaṃsas will accompany it (Megha I. 11). The mount Āmrakūta will receive it for quenching the forest conflagration (Megha I. 17). Siddhas will be thankful to it for a re-union with their beloveds through the noise of its thunder. (Megha I. 21 a). Himālaya's friendship it will secure through extinguishing the wild fires by innumerable showers of rain, and the camarí deer will be grateful to it. (Megha I. 53). Thus the cloud will have an opportunity to contract new friendships.

(vii) *Temptations to purify and ennoble its own self by rendering services to Gods and visiting holy places* :—The cloud has been previously described as *Kāmarūpa* capable of assuming any form it likes. (Cf. I. 6). Now with this trait, it can assume the form of flowers and worship Skanda when it reaches Devagiri and can with its rumblings cause the peacock of Kārtikeya to dance (to the delight of Bhavānī). The result will be the fruit of worship. (Megha I. 43-44). Then it will get purified with the drinking of the waters of the river Sarasvatí. (Megha I. 49). After Kurukṣetra, it will visit the holy places of the Ganges near Kanakhala and the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna (Megha I. 50-51). Then in the Himālaya mountains, it will find the foot-prints of Śiva by circumambulating which the cloud can attain the exalted position of the Gaṇas of Śiva (Megha I. 55). Therefore this will be a sort of liberation for the cloud. Moreover its rumbling will complete the music for Śiva's worship (Megha I. 56). It also can change itself into the form of a staircase so that Gaurí can, with its aid, climb up the sides of the mount. Kailāsa (Megha I. 60).

(viii) *A peculiar lustre will come over the body of the cloud* :—As the cloud passes off the Citrakūta mountain, its dark blue body will acquire a great splendour like that of Viṣṇu in the guise of the cowherd adorned with the peacock's plumes of glittering radiance on his crown (Megha I. 15). The same idea is repeated in Megha I. 57 and 59 though in a different form.

(ix) *Self-discovery by the cloud* :—Then in the *Uttaramegha*, the poet has held out to the cloud the prospect of coming across many similar things as itself. In the very first verse of this section, the poet has stated, "There the divine palaces replete with beautiful females, with pictures with sounds of drums beaten for concert, with floors of precious stones and with tops kissing the clouds may fitly be compared with thee possessed of lightning and rainbow, and sweet and deep noise, water inside and height in all the particular attributes". (Megha II. 1). The Yakṣas dance drinking a peculiar kind of wine known as *ratiphala* to the sound of the beating of drums—sounds as deep as the cloud's rumbling. (Megha II. 3). It can also see clouds similar to itself passing through the windows of the palatial buildings to have a glimpse of the beautiful damsels. (Megha II. 6). The cloud will also have an opportunity to see a likeness of itself in the shape of the artificial hill of pleasure erected on the bank of the Yakṣa's tank (Megha II. 14). All this means that the cloud can very aptly find an image of his own self. This is nothing but the discovery of his own real self by the cloud. One's own self haves an endless stream of ecstatic joy when it sees its own reflection.

With the implied promise of so many things at a time, the cloud will psychologically be tempted to convey the news, which is not as yet divulged. This very thing viz., non-revelation of the nature of the message to the cloud will certainly evoke a curiosity in the cloud's mind which again is subdued by other personal considerations presented as psychological temptations. Of all these, the last one viz., prospects of self-discovery is very important, because the cloud herein may find a satiety as it were. This sateiety is entirely subjective.

The two psychological divisions of the Meghadūta

As a matter of fact, the whole of the second section of the Meghadūta is more or less subjective, and the earlier section is entirely objective. Therefore the two divisions of the Meghadūta are psychological and are not artificial, as is sometimes fancied.[13]

The Objective Division

Now in the earlier section i.e. the Pūrvamegha, description of some external things is thrown in by way of temptations to the cloud, because without these, it is not probable that a piece of cloud will convey a certain message. At the same time, these temptations though varied are also so many allurements psychologically presented. These temptations are given not for the satisfaction of the cloud alone or for that matter of the Yakṣa, but those particular things will also have self-fulfilments. The Yakṣa's emotions in separation are the main current of the stream that has filled up with the aid of the cloud the tribularies of others' desires and has marched to the sea of a greater realisation. Here the poet's emotions have surveyed the whole region with his range of vision as it were from Rāmagiri to Alakā before the poet's march for a quest of the Greater self as it were :

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[13] The former half is a description of external nature, yet interwoven with human feeling; the latter half is a picture of a human heart, yet the picture is frame in natural beauty. So exquisitely is the thing done that none can say which half is superior". Ryder's Introduction p. XX. Also quoted in Bhawe. p. 15.

The Subjective Division

The Second Section is the emblem for the realisation of the Individual self as it were before the final quest for the Greater or Universal self. Herein there are two parts :—

(i) The cloud has found its own self in a certain similar number of things. This we have discussed already.

(ii) The Yakṣa says—"Knowest thou her as my second self" (Megha II. 20). In the second part, therefore, the descriptions of the Yakṣī along with those of Alakā, the Yakṣa's house and its environs are a concerted attempt to realise the second Self of the Yakṣa and therefore his very self. Hence we see a systematic attempt first to describe the environs of the Yakṣa's house and then the Yakṣí herself. One cannot say that the poet has gone into unnecesssary details in his descriptions of Alakā and the Yakṣa's house in it, because on the one hand the elaborate description of Alakā and its environs has helped the self-realisation of the cloud and on the other has exactly enabled the Yakṣa to locate himself in the shape of the Yakṣī, his second self.

After this, there is the exact delineation of the Yakṣí. This can be described as the self-description of the Yakṣa. Therefore we see that it is punctitiously vivid in the description of the various stages of love of the Yakṣī in separation. In verse No. 22 of the Uttarakhaṇḍa, the Yakṣa has said that besides doing many other things, the cloud may find her drawing a portrait of himself with imaginations very lean through separation etc. etc. This is indicative of mental attraction, the second stage in the development of love. Then it may find her given to mentally conceived sexual enjoyments with him. This implies an ardent desire for re-union. This is the third stage (Megha II. 24). The Yakṣa has asked the cloud to divulge the message at night when the Yakṣí passes sleepless hours with a yearning grief (Megha II. 25). This is the state of wakefulness, the fourth stage. She is emaciated with mental agony and therefore lies prostrate only on one side. (Megha II. 26). This denotes the fifth stage (Kārśyāvasthā). She in her agony goes to enjoy the moonlight but comes back with closing eye-lashes heavy with tears (Megha II. 27). This has indicated an abhorrence for all wordly pleasures, the sixth stage. "How shall I attain the pleasure of enjoyment with him even in a dream"—with this idea she yearns for a sleep the possibility of which is frustrated by a flood of tears (Megha II. 28). The open dis-play of tears suggests an abandonment of shame. This is the seventh stage. She constantly removes from her cheeks the curls of hair not formed into a braid from the day of separation (Megha II. 29). Constant removal of curls suggests insanity. This is the eighth stage. That lady with a feeble body laid repeatedly on the bedstead and devoid of ornaments will surely cause the cloud to weep copiously (Megha II. 30). Here the extremely feeble character of the body has suggested a stage of susceptibility to fainting fits. This is the ninth stage[14]

The Preconscious and the Conscious States

Such accuracies in the visualisation of the mental states of others from a distance are impossible unless there is complete awareness which works through certain psychological processes. In connection with discussions about the concept of beauty, we have tried to postulate a psychological state viz. that of Incubation.[15] In this stage, we have spoken of a process of meditation until the vision comes in an intutional flash or there is the illumination. The stage of Incubation is a stage of pre-conscious preparation in which ideas do not take a definite shape until there is the full consciousness. Cf. "............Productive thinking does not rest with consciousness; pre-conscious elaboration always plays a part. We refer to pre-conscious processes in speaking of "the slow maturation" of thought or of "the productive time-lag" between first approximation and final formulation.

When pre-conscious thought processes suddenly become conscious, the experience often suggests the influence of an external agent. Solutions of problems suddenly found out at night are said to have been "revealed" in dreams ; more regularly "chance" the everyday edition of the divine, is made responsible for sudden insight. Thus the observation of the falling apple which brought to Newton's awareness the pre-consciously elaborated theory of gravity, acted as an inspiring agent and was experienced by Newton as such.

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[14] For all these stages, see Mallinātha's commentary of those verses, especially the commentary to Megha. II. 30. The burden of Mallinātha's discussions is as follows :—*Śṛṅgāra* is of two kinds : (1) *Sambhoga* and (2) *Vipralambha.* The former is of the united pair while the latter relates to the separated pair. This Vipralambha is again sub-divided into four classes pūrvarāga, māna, pravāsa and Karuṇa. Of these, pravāsa again may occur from three different sources, Kārya, Sambhrama and *Śāpa.* The Meghadūta is based on Śāpaja Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra etc. etc.

From it, it is quite clear that our poet has conformed his theme to the conventional manner. We cannot expect a classical writer to shatter all shackles of convention and behave like a poet of the Romantic age. In other words, to judge a poet with the yard-stick of a movement taking place at least in the minimum two thousand years later is the height of unreality.

[15] For this see our forthcoming book "An Interpretative Study of Kālidāsa."

The peneration from the pre-conscious to consciousness and the sudden rise of insight is a process of considerable emotional significance ; reactions vary from relief to tension which leads to an easy flow of production to various degrees of joyful agitation and triumph.

In artistic production, pre-conscious elaboration plays no less a part than in scientific thought ; artists, too, are constantly in search of problems and their work consists of a sequence of problem-solutions. The uplift which may be felt when a pre-consciously elaborated solution suddenly comes to consciousness is neither the only experience nor the experience most characteristic of artistic creation. More typical is a state of "semi-consciousness" which a tradition first formulated by Plato calls that of "productive madness".

Space does not permit quotations from the wealth of descriptions ; we only briefly summarise what explanations of these states psycho-analysis suggests. "Productive madness" is a specific state of ego control in which unconscious material is freely accessible, and, in Freud's words, rises to the pre-conscious level ; the subjective experience is that of a flow of thoughts or image driving towards expression in word or shape".[16]

The time that lapses from the day of the curse till the cloud is sighted is suggestive of a pre-conscious thought-process which all on a sudden becomes conscious with the influence of an external agent, the appearance of the cloud. This is a mere chance which in the words of psycho-analysts is an edition of the divine and is responsible for sudden insight. Thus the awareness on the part of Yakṣa of the mental states of the Yakṣí gets explained.

Meghasaṃdeśa is the message of the soul

Again the stage of pre-conscious level is a period of productive madness and is marked by the control of the ego. When the ego is controlled, the self is projected on external things. Therefore the materials of objective descriptions in the Pūrvamegha get explained. When the self is projected externally with complete ego-control, then there is the self-realisation. The Yakṣa and the cloud find their own selves in the Uttarmegha. Thus the objective and the subjective stages have left a message of a different region that is beyond the ken of any analysis.

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[16] Lorand—Approaches to Art. pp. 363-364.

Therefore the Messages of the Yakṣa has become a message of the cloud which again has left an inkling of the effort made by the poet for the message of the soul.[17]

Thus the Meghadūta can be shown as conforming to a certain number of principles of modern psycho-analysis. The breach is caused by extenal agency, still by another external agency, the cloud, it conforms to the modern literary principles.

Neither can it be said that the Pūrvamegha and the Uttarmegha are running apart. The descriptions of the external nature have merged in the internal thought processes of the Yakṣa, because the subjective descriptions have anticipated similar states in external nature.[18] This is indicated by the poet's reference to the fifth stage in love of the river Nirvindhyā. In other words it can be said that parallel with various states of Yakṣí in separation, external nature has also tended to attain such states. Thus the separation of the Yakṣa is not viewed in isolation but from the perspective of many separations which left to themselves would have proved more acute than the Yakṣa's.

Elsewhere,[19] we have said that Kālidāsa's ideas are not mere ideas of universals, as in Plato, and are related to a whole thought process and they bear a kindred nature with those of Aristotle. In this connection, we have cited the example of a tree that has bodied forth ideas of many such trees including its eternal existence excited by its present existence. This is clear from a study of the character of Duṣyanta. But at the same time, it is not to be understood that to arrive at the highest truth, knowledge anticipates a procss of elimination as in the Hegelian dialectics. This is clear from a study of the Meghadūta. Here all the things of external nature described in Megha I. have a certain utility in the realisation of the self of the Yakṣa. In carrying the message, the cloud cannot consciously neglect the things described in the Pūrvamegha. In specific terms, the separation of the river Nirvindhyā is as real as the separation of the Yakṣa. Therefore the fulfilment is integrated and not eliminative. Truth, therefore in Kālidāsa is all-comprehensive. Thus it anticipates an expansion of vision beyond ordinary range. Hence besides consciousness, some sort of an illuminative process, the stage of prakāśa is anticipated. Thus Kālidāsa's Meghadūta embodies in it many traits which excel in many respects even modern philosophical trends. When we have stated[20] "Creation is never static; the Universe is not 'block' ", we had in mind the criticism directed against Hegelian Dialectics by the Neo-idealists, that when everything is eliminated as unreal and only one thing remains as a constant substance in creation, the universe becomes "block". This also can be said of the Vedantic Monism. But this cannot be charged against Kālidāsa. Thus Kālidāsa's views may be far above many criticisms directed against what may be called modern in Philosophical Tendencies.

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[17] In this connection, cf. the remark made by Professor M. Rangachariar quoted in the last paragraph of p. 21 of the Introduction to Somayājí. Herein Somayājí's remarks on this quotation of Prof. Rangachariar spring from his inability to make a correct estimate of the message of the cloud.

[18] cf.—"The description of external nature in the first half of the poem is heightened throughout by an intimate association with human feeling, while the picture of the lover's sorrowing heart in the second half is skilfully framed in the surrounding beauty of nature"—Dāsgupta and De—p. 134. But it is something more than this. The poet has presented an integrated view of the whole thing in which nature and the *Yakṣa* and Yakṣí have all lost their separate identity.

[19] See ch. iii. of *An Interpretative Study of Kālidāsa.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

1. Dr De	—The Meghadūta edited and translated by Dr S. K. De, Sahitya Akadami
2. Dasgupta and De	—A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Pediod, Vol. I. University of Calcutta
3. Bhawe	—Kālidāsa, the National Poet of India by Dr S. S. Bhawe
4. AK	—Kālidāsa by Shri Aurobindo
5. Somayājí	—Meghasaṇdeśa of Kālidāsa by Vidwan G. I. Somayaji; V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, Madras 1951
6. Rydar	—Translation of Kālidāsa's Shakuntalā and other works (Every man's Library) London 1928 by A. W. Ryder

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[20] See our work on Kalidāsa above mentioned, Chapter II.

Valmiki's Message and His Ideal Hero Ramachandra, the God-man (dharmatma)

By

P. Nagaraja Rao

The Ramayana of Valmiki is hailed as the first great piece of poetry, barring the Vedas and, Valmiki as the first poet (adikavi). The subsequent poetic tradition in India, not only in Sanskrit, but also in the regional languages is widely influenced by Valmiki. Kalidasa respectfully hails him, i.e., Valmiki as the sage of former times, who has already perforated and drilled the precious stones, for him to make a string of the saga of the Raghus. Valmiki is the morning star of Indian classical poetry. Professor Hiriyanna describes with moving words the circumstances associated with the birth of the Ramayana. "Valmiki the sage of Kosala was thinking of describing in a worthy manner the fortunes of Rama, the divine hero of the country. Revolving this idea in his head, he one day went as usual to the river *Tamasa* to perform his mid-day ablutions. But on that day, it so happened that he saw in the vicinity of the river a fowler killing one of a pair of lovely birds that were disporting on the branch of a tree. The fowler singled out the male bird and brought it down with his arrow. Seeing the bird lie on the ground, weltering in its blood, its mate began to wail in plaintive tones. The soft hearted sage was moved to intense pity at this sight and his grief spontaneously burst forth in the form of a *Śloka* which according to tradition was the first rhythmic utterance outside the archaic language of the Vedas". Brahma blessed him to compose the poem, and vouchsafed for its immortality. "As long as the hills and the rivers endure, so long the Ramayana will flourish" (1-2-36). This prophetic benediction of Brahma is true for all times. The Ramayana is one of the grandest of world-poems and Valmiki is one of the greatest of the world-poets. Sri Aurobindo writes "Not all perhaps can enter at once into the spirit of this masterpiece, but those who have once done so will never admit any other poem in the world as its superior". Bhavabhuti, Murari, (the author of Anargha Raghava), the great Ananda Vardhana (who restricts the list of poets to three, heads the list with Valmiki) and others have sung the glory of the Ramayana in masterly terms.

Sri Ramaniya the founder of Visistadvaita-Vedanta regards the Ramayana as a *Sharanagati-Sashstra* and as describing the supreme spiritual ideal and mode of God-realisation (prapath). The greatest quality of Sri Ramachandra is not his majesty (vibhava) but his accessibility to all (saulabhya). The God of Ramaniya is high-lighted in the character of Rama. Ramachandra affords refuge to all alike, who surrender and seek him, be he Vibhishana or Ravana. He excused *Kakasura* who gave the most dreadful offence to Sita when Rama was resting on her lap. Rama is described as the refuge of all (Sarva Loka Bharaniya). His love for his devotees is not only confined to the human world, it also extends to the animals.

The characterisation of Rama by Valmiki is the perfect picture of a moral ideal (dharma atma). The personality of Rama is of a thoroughly integrated individual. He is a rounded personality. There is no lopsided development in his personality-traits. Rama's influence on his fellow-men was wide-spread. "He who has not seeen Rama, or he who has not been seen by Rama, stands censured not only by society but is condemned by his own self" (II—17.14.15). All gazed on Rama and were gratified. All wanted to become like Rama.

The most outstanding quality of Sri Rama's character is the quality that compels not only admiration, but the deepest respect and the most reverent study, the quality that in itself embodies a Philosophy of conduct of astounding comprehensiveness is that Rama is essentially a *dharmatma*. All the qualities of Rama follow from his anchored spirit in *Dharma*. Dasaratha describes Rama as 'the wise elder' (dharma jyestha) Rama instructs the irate Lakshmana "human experience makes clear that the pursuits of dharma alone brings in its trail wealth, pleasures and all else, in the manner one attains all aspirations from the marriage with a beloved and obedient woman." (II—21-57). Sri Rama's beloved Sita described Rama to Anasuya as the very embodiment of perfection. She says, "How could one like me not bear the great love I have towards a person like Rama ? He is a man of controlled senses and permanent affection and absolutely righteous—one who reveres other women as his mother." (II—118-3-6).

Sita in a mood of genuine joy exclaims "The evil born of desires are threefold : They are falsehood, association with other's wives and being harmful to others without any cause for hostility. Falsehood has never been Thine, nor can it ever be Thine. O Rama ! Thou art never, even in fancy, guilty of going after other's wives which sin destroys all religious merit. Thou art always attracted by thy wife alone and by no other woman" (III—9-3-6).

Kausalya in a celebrated verse exhorts Rama "that dharma for which you have decided to undergo the task of going to the forest for fourteen years, that very *dharma* will protect you," Maricha describes Rama as the idol of Dharma (dharma vigraha).

Rama did not lack the charms of physical personality. He had a 'respledent form'. He had imposing, lovely and proportionate limbs that attracted all. He had self-possession above all qualities. He showed to others sympathy with rare detachment. He knew all the fine arts and was also proficient. He had keen perception, correct judgement and retained under all circumstances perfect *poise*. He was "serene in soul and gentle in speech, never returning a harsh answer to a harsh word. One benefit called forth his gratitude, but a hundred injuries left no trace on his memory". He choose as his associates the virtuous and wise. He disliked improper talk and avoided all forbidden practices.

He exhibits undaunted courage to implement his moral resolve without any fuss or theatricality in the face of all odds. One has to turn to the debate between Bharata and Rama when the former begged him to go back to Ayodhya. Several clever men tried their best to confuse and confound the issues adroitly in the mind of Rama. Some said he should live the life of a householder and not abandon his empire. Jabali, the cunning Brahmin, advises Rama not to give up the pleasant fruits of this world in favour of a doubtful, unreal hereafter. Any man of lesser resolve than Rama would have gone mad. Rama was not moved from the path of duty by casuistry or trick of words. He stood unassailed by any temptations. Rama was self-conscious about his innate love of dharma. Sri Rama tells the perplexed Kaikeyi, who was in a jilter "that he was a materialist worldling clinging to possessions and power. He is the equal of sages and upholds nothing but Dharma". This disarmed her. He was the Prince of forgiveness. He was a friend of all. All loved to gaze on his ineffable charm and transcedent loveliness and radiant personality. The influence of Sri Rama is immense on Indian culture and thought. Sri Ramnavmi is an all-India festival of joy and instruction.

Assamese and the Carya Songs

By

UPENDRANATH GOSWAMI

I. The language of the Caryāpadas supplies very good material for study to the scholars especially of Eastern India, because the eastern Indo-Aryan languages share many of their characteristics with it. As put by Dr Chatterji, "The most valuable relics of old Bengali are the 47 Caryāpadas............The only test here is the test of grammar and vocabulary and on these tests, there cannot be any question that we have genuine specimens of old Bengali here. Old Assamese and old Oriya, particularly the former, were certainly very like the language of the Caryās — and this is all that can be admitted."[1] In his The Formation of the Maithili Language Dr Subhadra Jha writes that "the oldest available works written in Maithili are the songs of the Buddhist saints. These songs are called Caryāpadas". And after having shown the relationship of Maithili with the Caryās he concludes : it is right to consider the language of the Caryās to be Maithili in its north-eastern dialect.[2]

Assamese as the easternmost modern Indian language, shows a clear and more intimate relationship with the language of the said songs. For the first time Dr Kakati attempted to scrutinise and find certain phonological and morphological peculiarities of Assamese in the language of the Caryāpadas and he drew certain significant conclusions.[3] To get a clear picture of the formation and development of Assamese, a detailed analysis of these songs is indispensable. In the present paper an attempt has been made to throw some more light in this direction.

Apart from 'certain phonological and morphological peculiarities' many words and certain rules of Assamese word-order are registered in these songs and they 'have come down in an unbroken continuity through early to modern Assamese.' The relationship of Assamese with the Caryā's may conveniently be graded in this way: early Assamese: Vaishnavite and non-Vaishnavite ; modern Assamese: standard and dialectical.

[1] Chatterji : Languages and Literatures of Modern India, 1963, pp. 158-59.
[2] S. Jha : The Formation of the Maithilī Language, 1958, p. 36.
[3] Kakati : Assamese, Its Formation and Development, 1941, Sec. 15-16.

2. *Modern Assamese and the Caryās*[4]: In the sphere of phonology

(i) 'the shortening of an anterior -ā before a following -ā- in the next or a succeeding syllable' has been noticed already;[5] e.g. cakā (car.), cakā (As.); bapa (car.), bapā (E. As.), bopā (Mod As.).

(ii) The O.I.A. single sibilants have developed into post-velar fricative /x/ in Assamese. In the Caryāpadas we find that the O.I.A. sibilants have lost their separate entities; e.g. śabara, ṣabarālī, sabara (car. 50).

(iii) The loss of distinction between dental and cerebral is another characteristic of Assamese. This tendency presents itself in the Caryās too; e.g. maṇa and mana < mana (car. 20 and 30 respectively.)[6]

(iv) The process of anaptyxis is working in modern Assamese to a large extent; e.g. parāṇ (prāṇa), yatan (yatna), padum (padma), etc. In the Caryās we come across such words : parāṇa, garāhaka (grāhaka), etc.

3. The morphological affinities of Assamese with the Caryās are much more intimate and varied than the phonological ones. Taken first the case affixes, we find almost all the case affixes of Assamese in the Caryās. For example:

(i) nominative -e, cf. car. 2 : kumbīre khāa, core nila.
(ii) accusative -k, cf. car. 12: ṭhākuraka parinibitā.
(iii) instrumental and locative forces of the nominative case affix -e, cf. car. 15 and I: je je ujubāṭe gelā, cañcala cīe paiṭhā kāla.
(iv) dative lai (car. lai), cf. car. 47: meru śikhara lai.
(v) genitive -r, cf. car. 6: hariṇīra nilaa.
(vi) locative -t, cf. car. 33: hāḍīta bhāta nāhi.

Unless special emphasis is laid upon the accusative, the accusative case affix is not added. This phenomenon is present in the Caryāpadas; cf. car. 9: bāndhaṇa toḍiu. Assamese does not possess the ablative case affix, Ablative sense is expressed by the addition of post-position -parā after the genitive case form; e.g. mānuha-r parā 'from man'.

3.1 Other morphological characteristics common to both Assamese and the Caryās are:

(i) present participle -õte (car. -ante) as in yāõte, cf. car 15 : ujubāṭa jāante.
(ii) conjunctive -i as in gai, cf. car 7: kāhnu kahī gai kariba nibāsa.
(iii) prefixing the negative particle before conjugated verbal forms as in na-mare, nājāy/nejāy, cf. car. 38, 32 : ṇa jāi, mā jāhure, etc.

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[4] All the references of the Caryā songs in the paper are mainly from Caryāpada by M. M. Basu. The Caryāgīti Padāvalī by S. Sen has also been consulted.

[5] Kakati : Assamese, Its Formation and Development, 1941, Sec. 15.

[6] M. M. Basu : Caryāpada : Introduction.

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(iv) feminine affix -ī, nī, cf. car. 50 : śabara, śabarī ; car. 33, 50 : ṣiālā, śiālī ; car. 3 : śuṇḍini.

(v) the pronouns mai, tai, mor, mo-, cf. car. 18, 39, 20, 35 : mai, tai, mor, mo.

(vi) the numerals ek, dui, tini, cf. car. 3, 7 : eka, dui, tini.

(vii) future tense affix -i-ba as in kariba, cf. car. 7 : kariba nibāsa.

(viii) past tense affix -i-lõ as in āchilõ, cf. car. 35 : asschilõ svamohe.

4. Some common vocables in both Assamese and the Caryās are mentioned below. They consist of nouns, adjectives, verb roots and verbal forms. (Forms differing a little from those of Assamese are shown in brackets): ān 'other', āji, uju, uṭhi, ujā, eri 'leaving' (car. eḍi), kari 'doing' (car. kariā), kā̃ṛhe (car. kā̃ḍai), kuṭhār, khā̃ṭ, khur, gal 'to melt', gāje (car. gājai), gohāri (car. guhāḍā), gohāli, ghar, ghā̃ṭ, ghin, cakā, teteli (car. ten-tali), duvār (car. duāra), dāpoṇ (car. dāpaṇa), nāl, nai (car. ṇai), nanand (car. naṇanda), parāṇ, pānī, pāt, pāthar, puthi (car. pothī), phāl 'to split', bākali (car. bākalaa), bāṭ 'street', bhāt, bhāl, michā (car. micchā), meli, molāṇ, rāti, śiyālī, śāl 'a kind of tree' (car. sāla), śāhu (car. śāsu, sāsu) śaguṇ 'vulture' (car. saguṇa), saru 'small' (car. sarui), sāp 'snake', hariṇā, hāk. The Deśi words : khāl, khũṭi (car. khũṇṭi), ḍāl, etc.

5. The dialect of Western Assam, namely the Kāmrūpī dialect does also share a large number of the phonological and morphological peculiarities discussed above. In the Kāmrūpī dialect there is no dative case affix. The sense of dative is either indicated by the accusative form or by the addition of post-position -legi/-geli after it ; e.g. mok-legi/-geli 'for me', gharok/gharok-legi 'to or for home'. In the Caryā songs we meet with -lāgi, cf. car. 16 : gaaṇa-ṭākali lāgi ; cf. ghara-lāgi (L.k.y), moka-lāgi (L.k.y), nibāka lāgi (M.k.). Besides the following Kāmrūpī formations showing similarity with the Caryās may be cited : (The forms in the Caryās differing a little from those in Kāmrūpī are indicated in brackets). kurmā (kuḍambā) gal 'neck', gātā 'hole' (gātī), gel, ghumoi (ghumai) chār 'to leave' (chāḍ), tā̃i, du 'to milk' (duhie), dā̃ṇḍī, pohil (pahila), beṅg 'frog', batte (baṭṭai), bājā 'barren' (bā̃jhe), bori 'pill' (baḍiā), bā̃hā (bāha), bul 'to walk' (bulai), bāpā, bopurā (bāpuḍa), bhel (bhelā), bhatār (bhatāri), mādli (mādalā), mukāl (mukala), rūpā, lāu, lāṅgāṭ (lāṅgā), sob (saba), sāj 'evening' (sā̃jhe), hāḍī, hoi, hou.

6. Syntactical relationship of Assamese with the Caryās is difficult to get as they are composed in poems. Still a few relics may be noticed. One of these is the putting the negative particle before the conjugated verb form (3.1 (iii) above). Another is the interrogative particle ne (As.), nā (Kām.), na (car.), cf. car. 29 : sāca na micchā, cf. sacā nā michā (Kam.), sācā ne michā (St. As).

7. *Early Assamese and the Caryās*: The language of Early Assamese literature consisting of pre-vaishnavite, vaishnavite and non-vaishnavite

writers falls into two categories: Assamese and Brajabuli. The latter is confined only with the language of the Bargīts, i.e. devotional songs and the dramas called Aṅkīyā Nāṭas, composed chiefly by Śaṅkaradeva (15th—16th century A.D.) and his disciple Mādhavadeva. Later on some other poets also imitated them in these two branches of Assamese literature. It is interesting to find exact grammatical forms and vocables in both Brajabuli and non-Brajabuli types of early Assamese language. The relationship of Caryā forms with Brajabuli seems to be much more close. This will be evident from the following facts:

(i) genitive case affix -ka ; e.g. chāndaka bāndha (car. I) : tuhu rāmaka caritra kichu jānaye nāhi (R.V.), jaya jaya jagataka bhakataka bhīti (K.D.).

(ii) locative in -e and -hi ; e.g. neura caraṇe (car. II), hiahi na paisai (car. 6): meri ghare (K.D.), gharahi gharahi saba phirata cakovā (Bar. Ma.).

(iii) Pronominal and other forms:

Caryā forms		*Assamese Brajabuli forms*
aisana	:	aicana parama santāpe (K.D.)
amiā	:	bāṇi amiyā rasa (R.H.)
ālo	:	ālo mañi ki kahabo dukha (Bar. Ma.)
ehu	:	śaṅkara ehu abhilāsi (Bar. San.)
kāhi	:	kāheka gorasa pāna karāvaba (K.D.)
kāheri	:	karabo kāheri sāra (Bar. San.)
koi	:	tāpa tāraka koi (Bar. San.)
khāṇṭa	:	yena pāyā khaṭa cora (Bar. Ma.)
gela	:	bhikṣuka bhāṭa nija deśe gela (R.H.), nanda gela bāthāne (Bar. Ma.)
geli	:	āju meri kṛṣṇa bāpa, kāhā geli (K.D.)
go	:	āgo māi tohāri tanaya yadumaṇi (Bar. Ma.)
ghāli	:	bāli ghāli (Bar. Ma))
cānda	:	teri cānda mukha pekhõ (Bar. Ma.)
cchāḍī	:	rāmaka chāḍi hāmāka niyā yāva (R.V.)
jāhera	:	jāhāra mayāra anta (Bar. Ma.)
tā	:	tā śunaha (R.H.)
to	:	Kata tapasāi tohāka putra pāvalo (K.D.)
tohori	:	tohāri caraṇe (K.D.), tohāri tanaya yadumaṇi (Bar. Ma.)
tu	:	tuhu gati mati (Bar. San.)
nāhi	:	nāsāta bāyu khele nāhi (K.D.)
ninda	:	teja re kamalāpati parabhāte ninda (Bar. Ma.)
parāṇā	:	parāṇa nigare nedekhiyā cānda mukha (Bar. Ma.)

Caryā forms		*Assamese Brajabuli forms*
pasiā	:	khopi prśiye dekhala (A. Bh.)
pekhu	:	pekhu pekhu doho rākṣasa āve (R.V.)
phāḍia	:	timira phāḍiyā bāja rabira kiraṇa (Bar. Ma.)
bāpa	:	āju meri kṛṣna bāpa (K.D.)
bāhuḍi	:	bāhuḍi nāvala (R.H.)
bihāṇa	:	cāraba bihāne kona meli meri dhenu (K.D.)
binu	:	gobinda bine nāhi nāhi āna (R.H.)
bhaila	:	sabaloka mahā bhītī bhela, ... hā hā svāmi ki bheli (K.D.)
muha	:	kona muhe kahaba (R.V.)
mora	:	mora patita pāvana prabhu (Bar. Ma.)
	:	mora bhakataka aicana avasthā (K.D.)
meri	:	jaḍā maraṇa meri (Bar. San.)
meli	:	cāraba bihāne kona meli meri dhenu (K.D.)
mele	:	tuvā bhakatara mele (Bar. Ma.)
raaṇi	:	dibasa najāya sukhe nayāya rayanī (Bar. Ma.)
re	:	teja re kamalāpati (Bar. Ma.), re mana rāma caraṇe rati lāvata (Bar. Ma.)
lāgi	:	tomāka lāgi rahaiche (R.V.)
saba	:	saba loka sukhe rahe (K.G.)
se	:	se kṛṣṇaka svāmī bañcita bheli (R.H.)
soi	:	soi soi ṭhākura moi (Bar. San.), sohi bhagavanta śrī rāma rūpe (R.V.)
heri	:	tāhe nā heri rahabi nāhi prāṇe (R.V.)
hoi	:	hāmāra sāmarthya kaicana hoi (R.V.)
pāra karei	:	pāra karu hṛṣikeśa (Bar. San.)
kahana na jai	:	hari guṇa kahana na yāi (R.H.)

8. The following are the conjugational affixes showing similarity in both the Caryās and Assamese Brajabuli language ,

(i) first personal -hũ and third personal -e in the present tense ; cf. car. 12 and 11 : amhe bhāla dāna dehũ, labae muktāhāra ; cf. mañi sevahũ rāma caraṇa dujā (Bar. Ma.), jīyana nārahe thora (Bar. San.), toho bine jīvana nārahe (K.D.)

(ii) third personal -l in the past tense, cf. car. 35 and 2 : bājule dila, kāneṭa core nila ; cf. dekhu uhi biṣa jala pāne prāṇe cāḍi marala, kṛṣṇaka prasāde punarbāra bartala (K.D.)

(iii) second personal imperative in the present tense -u, -tu, -ha, -hu ; cf. car. 38, 8, 28, 32 : jāu ṇa āṇe, bāhatu kāmali, bindhaha parama ṇibāṇe, mā lehu re baṅka ; cf. dekhu svāmika dhātu prāṇa rahe nāhi (K.D.) govinda dudha piu, dudha piu bolare yaśovā (Bar. Ma.), dharatu hari caraṇā (Bar. San.), hāmāka yuddha deha (R.H.), tā dekhaha, śunaha (R.H.), pāmaru mana rāma caraṇe citta dehu (Bar. San.).

9. Some of the morphological peculiarities and vocables mentioned above in connection with Assamese Brajabuli have persisted in the writings of pre-vaishnavite, non-vaishnavite and post-vaishnavite writers. Some other Caryā forms also are not wanting in them. To form an idea of it some such vocables and grammatical peculiarities found in the writings of Mādhava Kandalī (14th cen. A.D.), the greatest of the pre-vaishnavite poets and of Mankar (16th cen. A.D.), one of the Manasā poets, have been cited below. In one place Rāma-Sarasvatī (16th cen. A.D.) has been referred to.

Caryā forms	*Assamese forms*
ujāa	ujāhā (M.K.)
ebẽ	ebe (M.K.)
kāheri	kāhāra (M.K.)
keho	keho (M.K.)
kheḍā	kheḍi (M.K.)
gela	gela (Man.)
galapāsa	galapāśa (M.K.), gala (Man.)
ghariṇī	gharaṇī (M.K.)
ghumai	ghumati yāya (M.K.)
jāhera	yāhāra (M.K.)
ṭuṭī	ṭuṭe (M.K.)
tentali	tenteli (M.K.)
torā	torā (R.S.)
tohori	tohora (M.K.)
dui	dui (M.K.)
nāhā	nāhā (M.K.)
patiāi	patiāna (M.K.)
phāḍia	pheḍiyā (M.K.)
bakhāṇī	bakhāna (M.K.)
bahuḍi	bohāri (M.K.), bahāri (Man.)
bāpa	bāpa (M.K.)
bāpudī	bāpu (M.K.)
bāpuḍā	bāpuḍā (M.K.)
bāhuḍai	bāhuḍāyā (M.K.), bāhuḍā (Man.)
bhaila	bhaila (M.K.), bhaila (Man.)
mohora	mohora (M.K.)
rūpā	rupā (M.K.)
hāka	hāka (M.K.)

9.1. The following morphological similarities in the Caryās and early Assamese may be considered :

(i) third personal -l in the past tense (sec. 8 above): kanyā sabe pārila bāṭata neta pāṭa (Ayo), bisvakarme jānila gosāi cinte ki kāraṇa (Man.)

(ii) third personal -anti in the present tense, cf. car. 22: bhamanti, honti; cf. bhaye ati camakanti, rāma rāma uccaranti (Kiṣkindhā)

10. Thus the discussion above leads us to the conclusion that the language of the Caryāpadas represents 'mixtures of many tongues and many forms' and it is both a vernacular and a literary language of eastern India. As a literary language it continued for centuries together till the vaishnavite scholars of eastern India considered it to be a good vehicle for their literary compositions. As a vernacular it has been continuing throughout centuries till the present day.*

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* These abbreviations are used in the paper :

As : Assamese,
A.Bh : Arjuna-bhañjana Nāṭa,
Ayo : Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa,
Bar : Bargīt,
Car : Caryāpada,
E : Early,
K. D. : Kāliya-damana-nāṭa,
K. G. : Keli-Gopāla-nāṭa,
Kām : Kāmrūpī dialect,
L. K. Y : Lava-Kuśar yuddha,
Ma : Mādhavadeva,
Man : Mankar,
M. K. : Mādhava Kandali,
Mod : Modern,
R. V. : Rāma-vijaya-nāṭa,
R. H. : Rukmiṇī-haraṇa-nāṭa,
R. S. : Rāma-Sarasvatī,
San : Śaṅkaradeva.
St : Standard.

आचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादानां शान्तरस-विषयक-विचारः

श्रीजयमन्त मिश्रः

राजशेखरस्य “काव्यमीमांसा”नुसारेण[1] भरतमुनिना नाट्यविषये नन्दिकेश्वरेण च रस-विषये स्व-स्व-ग्रन्थो व्यरचीति विज्ञायते। परन्तु नन्दिकेश्वरस्य रस-विषय-रचनाया अद्याप्यनुपलब्धेः राजशेखरस्य साक्ष्ये विद्यमानेऽपि अलंकारशास्त्रस्य पर्यालोचका रससम्प्रदायस्याप्याद्यप्रवर्तकतया भरतमुनिमेव मन्यन्ते। भरतमुनेर्नाट्यशास्त्रात् पूर्वं कदाचिद् वृद्ध-भरतस्य बृहत्तरनाट्यशास्त्रं प्रत्यक्षगोचरमासीद् यच्च शारदातनयस्य “भावप्रकाशने”[2] “यथोक्तं वृद्धभरतेने”त्यादि वाक्येन तथा “नाट्यशास्त्रे” उल्लिखितैरानुवंश्यश्लोकैर्विज्ञायते। परमधुनोपलब्धग्रन्थेषु भरतमुने“र्नाट्यशास्त्र”मेव निर्भ्रान्तरूपेण र्नाट्यशास्त्रस्य अलंकारशास्त्रस्य वा प्रथमं रचनमिति निश्चीयते।

“नाट्यशास्त्रस्य”अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यस्याभिनवभारत्याख्यव्याख्यासमन्विते गायकवाड-संस्करणे तथा दिल्लीविश्वविद्यालयात् प्रकाशिते अभिनवभारतीसञ्जीवन-भाष्य-समन्विते नवीनसंस्करणे च षष्ठाध्याये शान्तरस-प्रकरणं साङ्गोपाङ्गमुपलभ्यते। वाराणसीतः प्रकाशिते चौखम्बासंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायाः संस्करणे प्रकरणमिदं न प्राप्यते। अतो भरतमुनिना स्व“नाट्यशास्त्रे” शान्तरसस्यापि निरूपणं कृतमिति विषयः समालोचकविद्वत्समानेषु प्राचीनादेव कालाद् विवादास्पदतां भजते।

अत्र “नाट्यशास्त्रे” शान्तरस-निरूपणमनङ्गीकुर्वतामालोचकानामियं वाचोयुक्तिः—यदि नाम भरतमुने“र्नाट्यशास्त्रे” शान्तरसोऽपि प्रतिपादितोऽभविष्यत् तर्हि

“शृङ्गार-हास्य-करुण-रौद्र-वीर-भयानकाः।
बीभत्साद्भुतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः॥
एते ह्यष्टौ रसाः प्रोक्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना[3]॥”

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१. रूपकनिरूपणीयं भरतः, रसाधिकारिकं नन्दिकेश्वरः। काव्यमीमांसा-प्रथमाध्याये।

२, भावप्रकाशने ३६-तमे पृष्ठे।

३. नाट्यशास्त्रे ६, १५-१६ ; ६, ८३।

इत्यादिस्थलेषु अष्टानामेव रसानां केवलमुल्लेखो नाभविष्यत् । नैव च मुनिरष्टानामेव रसानां वर्ण-देवताप्रतिपादनमकरिष्यत् । नापि च

"रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।
जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः[४] ॥"

इत्यत्राष्टानामेव स्थायिभावानां नामान्युदलिखिष्यत् । न केवलमेतावदेव महाकविः कालिदासोऽपि स्वीये "विक्रमोर्वशीये"—

"मुनिना भरतेन यः प्रयोगो भवतीष्वष्टरसाश्रयो नियुक्तः ।"

इत्यत्र भरतमुनिप्रतिपादितानष्टावेव रसान् प्रयोज्यतया नाकथयिष्यत् । नापि च दण्डी स्वकीये "काव्यादर्शे"

"इह त्वष्टरसायत्ता रसवत्ता स्मृता गिराम्[५]"
इत्येवं प्रतिपादयन् अष्टावेवरसानुदाहरिस्यत् ।

"नाट्यशास्त्र" भरतमुनिना शान्तस्यापि निरूपणं कृतमिति द्वितीयपक्षावलम्बिनामाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादादीनां सुदृढं मतम् । अभिनवभारत्यामभिनवगुप्तपादेन च शान्तरसविषयं सविस्तरं विवेच्य उपसंहरता स्पष्टमुदलेखि—"तस्मादस्ति शान्तो रसः । तथाच चिरन्तनपुस्तकेषु 'स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्यामः' इत्यनन्तरं 'शान्तो नाम शम-स्थायिभावात्मकः' इत्यादि शान्तलक्षणं पठ्यते[६] ।" "रसाः ते च नव । शान्तापलापिनस्तु अष्टाविति तत्र पठन्ति[७] ।" अतोऽभिनवगुप्तपादानां मतेन—

"शृङ्गार······बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः",
"एवं नवरसाः प्रोक्ताः" "एवमेते रसा ज्ञेया नवलक्षणलक्षिताः",
"रतिर्हासश्च······जुगुप्सा विस्मयशमाः स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः",

इत्येव तत्र तत्र मूलपाठ आसीत् । वर्ण-देवतानिरूपणप्रकरणे च "स्वच्छपीतौ शमाद्भुतौ" "बुद्धः शान्तेऽब्जजोऽद्भुते" इति शान्तवादिनां पाठः[८] ।

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[४] तत्रैव ६, १७ ।

[५] काव्यादर्शे २, २६२ ।

[६] अभिनवभारत्याम् ६३५-तमे पृष्ठे ।

[७] तत्रैव ४१६-तमे पृष्ठे ।

[८] तत्रैव ४३३, ५३०, ५३१, ६४१ इति पृष्ठेषु ।

अभिनवभारतीमण्डिते "नाट्यशास्त्रे" शान्तरसस्वरूपन्त्वेवमुपलभ्यते—

"अथ शान्तो नाम शमस्थायिभावात्मको मोक्षप्रवर्तकः। स तु तत्त्वज्ञानवैराग्याशय-शुद्ध्यादिभिर्विभावैः समुत्पद्यते। तस्य यम-नियमाध्यात्मध्यान-धारणोपासन-सर्वभूतदयालिङ्ग-ग्रहणादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः। व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य निर्वेद-स्मृति-धृति-शौच-स्तम्भ-रोमाञ्चादयः। अत्रार्याः श्लोकाश्च भवन्ति—

मोक्षाध्यात्म समुत्थस्तत्त्वज्ञानार्थहेतुसंयुक्तः।
नैःश्रेयसोपदिष्टः शान्तरसो नाम संभवति ॥
बुद्धीन्द्रिय-कर्मेन्द्रिय-संरोधाध्यात्म-संस्थितोपेतः।
सर्वप्राणिसुखहितः शान्तरसो नाम विज्ञेयः ॥
यत्र न दुःखं न सुखं न द्वेषो नापि मत्सरः।
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु स शान्तः प्रथितो रसः ॥
भावा विकारा रत्याद्याः शान्तस्तु प्रकृतिर्मतः।
विकारः प्रकृतेर्जातः पुनस्तत्रैव लीयते ॥
स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्ताद्भावः प्रवर्तते।
पुनर्निमित्तापाये च शान्त एवोपलीयते ॥
एवं नवरसा दृष्टा नाट्यज्ञैर्लक्षणान्विता ॥" इति।

"नाट्यशास्त्रे" शान्तरसमनङ्गीकुर्वतां मतेन यद्येतस्यांशस्य प्रक्षिप्तत्वं तर्हि प्रथमाध्याये मुनिना प्रतिपादिते—

"क्वचिद्धर्मः क्वचित्क्रीडा क्वचिदर्थः क्वचिच्छमः[१०]"

इति पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयरूपे नाट्यप्रयोजने परमप्रयोजनस्य मोक्षस्यैव प्रयोजकीभूतस्य शान्तरसस्याप्रतिपादनात् तदंशे विकलतया पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयप्रतिपादनमसंगतं स्यात्।

शान्तरस-विरोधिनां मतं पूर्वपक्षतया प्रतिपादयताऽभिनवगुप्तपादेन तत्रप्रकरणे प्रोक्तम्—

"एतदपरे न सहन्ते। (१) शम-शान्तयोः पर्यायत्वात्। (२) एकोनपञ्चाशद्भावा इति संख्यात्यागाच्च। (३) किञ्च विभावा ऋतुमाल्यादयस्तत्समनन्तरभाविनि शृङ्गारादावनुसन्धीयन्ते इति युक्तम्। तपोऽध्ययनादयस्तु न शान्तस्य शमस्य हेतवः। तत्त्वज्ञान-

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९. तत्रैव षष्ठाध्याये ६०९-६१० इति पृष्ठे।

१०. तत्रैव प्रथमाध्याये १०८।

स्याप्यनन्तरहेतव—इति चेत्, पूर्वोदिततत्त्वज्ञानेऽपि तर्हि प्रयोज्यतेति तपोऽध्ययनादीनां शमविभावता परित्यक्ता स्यात्। कामाद्यभावोऽपि नानुभावः, शान्तविपक्षादव्यावृत्तेः, अगमकत्वात्। (४) प्रयोगासमवायित्वाच्च। न हि चेष्टाव्युपरमः प्रयोगयोग्यः। सुप्तमोहादयोऽपि निःश्वासोच्छ्वास-पतन-भूशयनादिभिश्चेष्टाभिरेवानुभाव्यन्ते। (५) धृतिप्रभृतिरपि प्राप्तविषयोपभोगः कथं शान्ते स्यात्। (६) नचाकिञ्चित्करत्वमात्रेण तत्त्वज्ञानोपायो व्युत्पाद्यते। (७) विनेयाश्चैते परदुःखदुःखितमनसो दृश्यन्ते सम्यग्दर्शनसमावस्थां प्राप्ताः अपि तु संसारे। तन्न शान्तो रस इति[११]।" इति।

अयमाशयोऽत्रपूर्वपक्षिनाम्—

(१) शान्तस्य शमस्थायिभावत्वे शम-शान्तयोर्भेदेन तयोः समानार्थकतया पर्यायत्वकथनमसंगतं स्यात्।

(२) मुनिना (अष्टौ स्थायिनः+अष्टौ सात्त्विकाः+त्रयस्त्रिंशद् व्यभिचारिण इति) एकोनपञ्चाशद्भावाः प्रतिपादिताः। शमस्थायिभावस्य शान्तस्य स्वीकारे पञ्चाशद्भावाः स्युः। एवञ्च संख्या-नियम-त्यागान्नास्ति शमः तत्स्थायिश्शान्तश्च।

(३) अपरं च ऋतुमाल्यादयो विभावास्तत्समनन्तरभाविनि शृङ्गारादिरसे कारणतया प्रतीयन्ते, परन्तु तपःस्वाध्यायादयस्तत्समनन्तरभाविनि शमे शान्ते वा कारणत्वेन न प्रतीयन्ते। अतस्तपःस्वाध्यायादयो न शान्तस्य विभावाः। एवमेव च कामाद्यभावोऽपि न शान्तस्यानुभावः, शान्ताद् भिन्ने वीरादावपि कामाद्यभावस्य विद्यमानत्वात् शान्ते विपक्षाद् वीरादेरव्यावृत्ततया कामाद्यभावस्य न शान्तस्यानुभावत्वम्। यदि कामाद्यभावः शान्तस्यानुभावः स्यात् तर्हि कामाद्यभावस्य शान्तस्य कार्यतया यत्र यत्र शान्तस्तत्र तत्रैव कामाद्यभाव इत्यन्वयव्यतिरेकनियमो भवेत्। किन्तु शान्तस्थले कामाद्यभावस्य विद्यमानत्वेन अन्वयसत्त्वेऽपि शान्त-भिन्ने वीरादावपि तस्य सत्त्वाद् व्यतिरेकाभावः। अतः कामाद्यभावस्य शान्तानुभावत्वं न घटते।

(४) समस्तव्यापार-प्रविलयरूपस्य शमस्याभिनयायोग्यत्वान्न नाट्ये शान्तरसः शक्यते प्रयोक्तुम्। सुप्तमोहादयोऽपि निःश्वासादिचेष्टाभिरनुभाव्यन्ते। किन्तु चेष्टा-व्युपरमरूपस्य शान्तस्याभिनयासंभवात् नास्ति शान्तो रसः।

(५) विषयोपभोगानन्तरं जायमानस्य धृत्यादेर्व्यभिचारित्वमपि शान्ते न स्यात्।

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११. तत्रैव ६११-६१२ इति पृष्ठे।

(६) चेष्टारहितेनाकिञ्चित्करेण शमप्रधानपुरुषेण तत्त्वज्ञानोपायस्यानुष्ठानमपि न शक्यते कर्तुम् ।

(७) शान्तस्य साधकास्तत्त्वज्ञानस्थितिं प्राप्ता अपि संसारे परदुःख-दुखितमनसो-दृश्यन्ते । अतो नास्ति शान्तो रस इतिपूर्वपक्षाभिप्रायः । एवं पूर्वपक्षं समुपस्थाप्य शान्तरसं प्रस्थापयताऽभिनवगुप्तपादेन प्रतिपादितम्—इहलोके यथा धर्मार्थकामाः पुरुषार्थास्तथैव मोक्षोऽपि पुरुषार्थः शास्त्रादौ प्राधान्येनोपायतः प्रतिपाद्यते । यथा च कामादिषु रत्यादयः समुचिताश्चित्तवृत्तयः कविनटद्वारेण सहृदयसामाजिकान् प्रति शृङ्गारादिरूपत्वेन रसत्वं नीयन्ते तथैव मोक्षरूपपरमपुरुषार्थोचिता चित्तवृत्तिः सहृदयान् प्रति शान्तरूपतया कथं रसत्वं नानीयेत ? ततश्च मोक्षरूपपुमर्थसाधक-चित्तवृत्तिरूपस्थायिभावः शान्तरसत्वेन आस्वाद्यते एव नाट्ये इति ।

शान्तस्थायि-निरूपणम् :

शान्तस्य किन्नामासौ चित्तवृत्तिरूपस्थायिभाव इति जिज्ञासायामभिनवगुप्तपादेन प्रतिपाद्यते—

(क) तत्र प्रथमं निर्वेद-स्थायित्वोपपादनम् :

तत्खण्डनञ्च यत्तु केचित् तत्त्वज्ञानजनित-निर्वेदस्य शान्ते स्थायित्वम्, एतदर्थमेव माङ्गलिकेन मुनिना उभयधर्मोपजीवित्वख्यापनाय अमङ्गलभूतोऽप्यसौ निर्वेदः स्थायि-संचारिमध्ये पठितः । अष्टावेव स्थायिनो भवन्तीति संख्यानियमाभावादेव स्थायिषु संख्या च तेन नोक्ता । 'व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य आलस्यौग्र-जुगुप्सावर्ज्याः[१२]' इत्यत्र शृङ्गारे जुगुप्सां व्यभिचारित्वेन निषेधयता मुनिना सर्वेषामेव भावानां स्थायित्वं व्यभिचारित्वं चानुज्ञातम् । तत्त्वज्ञानजन्यनिर्वेदश्च रत्यादि-स्थाय्यन्तरोपमर्दकोऽपि भवति । अतस्तत्त्वज्ञान-जन्यनिर्वेद एव शान्तस्य स्थायीति कथयन्ति तन्न, तत्त्वज्ञानजन्यनिर्वेदस्य शान्तस्थायित्वे तत्त्वज्ञानस्य तद्विभावत्वं (कारणत्वं) कथनीयं स्यात् । तत्त्वज्ञानं च वस्तुतो मोक्षकारण-वैराग्यस्य कारणम् । यदि नाम वैराग्यबीजस्य तत्त्वज्ञानस्य परम्परया शान्तकारणत्वं स्वीक्रियेत तर्हि कारण-कारणे विभावत्वव्यवहारादतिव्याप्तिदोषः । अतो न तत्त्व-ज्ञानजन्यनिर्वेदः शान्तस्य स्थायी । अपरं च सांसारिकविषयेष्वनुपादेयताप्रत्ययरूप-निर्वेदो वैराग्यस्वरूप एव । स च तत्त्वज्ञानस्य विलोमरूपेणोपयोगी नानुलोमरूपेण । अर्थात् विरक्त-पुरुषप्रयत्नेन तत्त्वज्ञानमुत्पद्यते । तत्त्वज्ञानाच्च निःश्रेयससिद्धिः । नतु तत्त्वज्ञानान्निर्वेदो निर्वेदाच्च मोक्षः । अतो निर्वेद एव तत्त्वज्ञाने कारणम् न तु तत्त्वज्ञानस्य कार्यम् । अतश्च

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१२. तत्रैव ५५२-तमे पृष्ठे ।

न तत्त्वज्ञान-जन्य-निर्वेदः शान्तस्य स्थायीति। न च "तत्परं पुरुषख्यातेर्गुणवैतृष्ण्यम्[१३]" इति योगसूत्रानुसारेण आत्मज्ञानानन्तरं गुणं—प्राकृतिक पदार्थ-प्रति वैतृष्ण्यमेव परं वैराग्यम्। ततश्च तत्त्वज्ञान-जन्य-वैराग्यरूपो निर्वेदः शान्तस्य स्थायी भवितुमर्हत्येवेति वाच्यम्, तादृशवैराग्यस्य ज्ञानस्यैव पराकाष्ठात्वमिति भगवता पतञ्जलिनैव प्रतिपादितत्वात्। अतो न निर्वेदः स्थायी अपि तु तत्त्वज्ञानमेव। यत्तु व्यभिचारिभावव्याख्यानावसरे मुनिना तत्त्वज्ञानस्य[१४] निर्वेदविभावत्वं प्रतिपादितम्, तत्तु चिरकालं भ्रान्त्या विप्रलब्धस्य पुरुषस्य विषयेषूपादेयत्व-निवृत्तये यत् सम्यग्ज्ञानम् तस्य। अर्थात् तादृश यथार्थज्ञानं खेदरूपनिर्वेदस्य कारणम्। यथा—

"वृथादुग्धोऽनड्वान् स्तनभरनता गौरितिपरं
परिष्वक्तः षण्ढो युवतिरिति लावण्यरहितः।
कृता वैदूर्याशा विकचकिरणे काचशकले
मया मूढेन त्वां कृपणमगुणज्ञं प्रणमता[१५]॥" इत्यादौ।

नच 'दुःख-जन्म-प्रवृत्ति-दोष-मिथ्याज्ञानानामुत्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्गः' इति न्यायसूत्रानुसारेण मिथ्याज्ञान-विनाशकं तत्त्वज्ञानं रागद्वेषरूप दोषस्याभावरूप-वैराग्यस्य कारणम्। एवञ्च वैराग्य-रूप-निर्वेदस्य तत्त्वज्ञानं कारणम् भवति। ततश्च तत्त्वज्ञानजनिर्वेदः शान्तस्य स्थायी स्यादेवेति वाच्यम्, अत्र शोकप्रवाहप्रसर-रूपचित्तवृत्ति-विशेषान्निर्वेदात् रागादिप्रध्वंसरूपस्य वैराग्यस्य वैलक्षण्यात्। अर्थात् भावरूपो निर्वेदः अभावरूपवैराग्याद् विलक्षणः। एवञ्च पूर्वोक्तन्यायसूत्रानुसारेण वैराग्यस्य कारणं तत्त्वज्ञानं तद्भिन्ननिर्वेदस्य कारणं कथं स्यात्? यदि निर्वेद-वैराग्ययोरैक्यमपि स्वीक्रियेत तथापि मिथ्याज्ञान-विनाशेन जायमानस्य दोषाभावरूपवैराग्यस्य मोक्षे साक्षात्कारणत्वं नास्ति। किञ्च तत्त्वज्ञानजन्योनिर्वेदइत्यङ्गीकृते शमस्यैव निर्वेद इतिनाम कृतं स्यात्। अतः शम एव शान्तरसस्य स्थायी न तु निर्वेद इत्यभिनवगुप्तपादेन सिद्धान्तितम्। शम-शान्तयोः पर्यायत्वरूपपूर्वोक्तदोषस्तु हास-हास्याभ्यामेव परिहृतः। अर्थाद्यथाहासः पर्यायवाचिनो हास्यस्य स्थायी तथैव शमोऽपि शान्तस्य स्यात्।

(ख) रत्याद्यन्यतमस्य स्थायित्व खण्डनम् :

यत्तु केचित्—रत्याद्यन्यतमस्यैव शान्ते स्थायित्वम्। रत्यादयो हि श्रृङ्गाराद्युपयोगिविभावेभ्यो भिन्नेन अध्यात्मचर्चादिरूपेण शान्तरसोपयोगिना अलौकिकविभाव-विशेषेणाभिव्य-

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[१३] योगसूत्रम् १, १६।

[१४] नाट्यशास्त्रे सप्तमाध्याये।

[१५] अभिनवभारत्याम् ६१७ तमे पृष्ठे।

ज्यमानाः सन्तो भिन्न-प्रकारा एव भवन्ति। तेषां विलक्षणरत्यादीनामन्यतमस्यैव शान्ते स्थायित्वम्। एवञ्च (१) मोक्षसाधनीभूतया अखण्डानन्दस्वरूपया आत्मविषयकरत्या, (२) समस्त-विषयं वैकृतं पश्यतो जनस्य विकृतदर्शनजन्यहास्यरस-स्थायिभावेन हासेन वा, (३) विश्वं च शोच्यं विलोकयतः साधकस्य करुणरस-स्थायिभावेन शोकेन वा, (४) सांसारिक-वृत्तान्तं मोक्षस्यापकारित्वेन पश्यतः अपकारित्वजन्यरौद्ररसस्य स्थायिभावेन क्रोधेन वा, (५) अत्यन्तज्ञानप्रधानमुत्साहमाश्रितवतः साधकस्य वीररस-स्थायिभावेनोत्साहेन वा, (६) समस्त सांसारिकविषयाद् बिभ्यतो जनस्य भयानक-स्थायिभावेन भयेन वा, (७) सर्वलोक-स्पृहणीयादपि प्रमदादेर्जुगुप्समानस्य बीभत्सस्थायिभावजुगुप्सया वा, (८) अपूर्वस्वात्मातिशय-लाभाद् विस्मयमानस्य अद्भुतरस-स्थायिभावेन विस्मयेन वा मोक्षसिद्धिः (चिरशान्तिः) भवतीति रति-हासादीनामन्यतमस्यैव शान्तेस्थायित्वमिति वदन्ति तन्न, एवंवादिनां मते कदाचिद्रतेः कदाचिद्हासादेः शान्तस्थायित्वे कस्याप्येकस्यैव स्थायित्वाप्रसङ्गात्। न च तत्तद् विभाव-विशेषभेदेन तत्तद्रतिहासादेः शान्ते स्थायित्वं स्यादिति वाच्यम् ? प्रतिपुरुषं स्थायिभेदेन शान्तरसस्याप्यानन्त्यापत्तेः। न च स्थायिभावभेदेनापि सर्वत्र मौक्षरूपैकफलत्वादेक एव शान्तरसः स्यादिति वाच्यम् ? धर्मैकफलत्वे वीर-रौद्रयोरप्येकत्वापत्तेः। एवञ्च रत्याद्यन्यतमस्य स्थायित्वं न युक्तम्।

(ग) रत्यादिसमष्टेः स्थायित्वखण्डनम् :

यत्तु केचित् पानकरसवन्मिलिताः सर्वे एव स्थायिभावाः शान्तस्य स्थायिन इति प्रतिपादयन्ति तन्न, रत्यादि-विषयक-चित्तवृत्तीनामयुगपद्भावात्, हासक्रोधयोर्भयोत्साहयो रतिजुगुप्सयोः परस्परं विरोधाच्च रत्यादि-समष्टेः स्थायित्व-प्रतिपादनस्यासंगतत्वात्। एवञ्च पूर्वोक्तप्रकारेण निर्वेदस्य, रत्याद्यन्यतमस्य, रत्यादि समष्टेश्च शान्ते स्थायित्वं निराकृत्य अभिनवगुप्तपादेन प्रतिपादितम्,—।

(घ) आत्मज्ञानमेव शान्ते स्थायीति :

तथा हि—"दृहतत्त्वज्ञानमेव तावन्मोक्षसाधनमिति तस्यैव मोक्षे स्थायिता युक्ता। तत्त्वज्ञानं च नाम आत्मज्ञानमेव। आत्मनश्च इन्द्रियादिव्यतिरिक्तस्यैव ज्ञानम्। परो ह्येवमात्मा अनात्मना (देहादिना-भिन्नः) एव स्यात्। विपश्चितं चैतदस्मद्गुरुभिः। अस्माभिश्चान्यत्र[१६] वितन्यत इतीह नातिनिर्बन्धः कृतः। तेनात्मैव ज्ञानानन्दादिविशुद्धधर्मयोगी परिकल्पित-विषयभोगरहितोऽत्र स्थायी[१७]।"

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१६. भगवद्गीताव्याख्यायाम्।

१७. अभिनव भारत्याम् ६२३तमे पृष्ठ ।

न चात्मनः स्थायित्वेऽन्येषां रत्यादीनामस्थायित्वं शङ्कनीयम् । रत्यादयो हि स्वस्वकारणानामुपस्थित्या प्रकाशमाना अनुपस्थित्या च विलीयमाना अपि आत्मरूपस्थायि-भित्ति-संश्रयाः सन्तो व्यभिचारिभावापेक्षया कञ्चिदधिकं कालं स्थिराः सन्तः स्थायिन उच्यन्ते । तत्त्वज्ञानन्तु सकलभावान्तर-भित्तिस्थानीयं सर्वस्थायिभ्यः स्थायितमं सर्वा रत्यादिकाः स्थायिचित्तवृत्तीर्व्यभिचारीभावयत् निसर्गत एव सिद्धस्थायिभावरूपमिति[१८] । अतएव च आत्मरूप-तत्त्वज्ञानस्य शान्तरस-स्थायिनः पृथग्गणना स्थायिषु मुनिना न कृता । रुण्डमुण्डयोर्मध्ये यथा विद्यमानं तृतीयं गोत्वमिति न गण्यते तथैवाष्टसु स्थायिषु विद्यमानमात्मरूपतत्त्वज्ञानं न पृथग्गण्यते इति भावः । तेन एकोनपञ्चाशद् भावा इत्यव्याहतमेव ।

शान्तरस-स्थायिन आत्मज्ञानस्य स्थायिषु गणनाभावेऽपि रसेषु शान्तरसस्य गणना युक्तैव, रत्यादीनामास्वादात् शान्तास्वादस्य वैलक्षण्यात् । अत्रायमाशयः—"योगश्चित्तवृत्ति निरोधः" "तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम्", "वृत्तिसारूप्यमितरत्र[१९]" इति योगसिद्धान्तानुसारेण लौकिकानुभवक्षणे चित्तवृत्तिसारूप्याद् विशुद्धात्मस्वरूपस्य प्रतीतिर्न भवति । निर्विकल्पे समाधौ विशुद्धात्मस्वरूपानुभूतिर्जायते । पुनश्च व्युत्थानकाले (समाध्यनन्तरम्) वृत्तिसारूप्यं भवति । अर्थात् चित्तवृत्तिकलुषितरूपेणैवात्मप्रतीतिर्भवति न तु वृत्तिशून्यरूपेण । अतः स्थायिभावरूपेण आत्मनो न पृथग्गणनम् । किन्तु शान्तरसे शुद्धात्मन आस्वादात् शान्तस्य पृथग्गणनं न्याय्यमेव । अत एव च 'अभिनवभारती'कारेण सिद्धान्तितम्—'तस्मादस्ति शान्तो रसः । तत्र सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादो विषयेभ्यो विपरिवृत्त्या, तन्मुख्यतालाभात् । केवलं वासनान्तरोपहित इति[२०] ।" "अयमेव (च शान्तरसः) स्वभावः[२१] ।" अर्थात् शान्त एव प्रकृतिरसः अन्ये च विकृतयः । अतएव च "अस्य सर्वप्रकृतित्वमभिधाय (त्वाभिधानाय) पूर्वमभिधानमिति[२२]" एवञ्च स्वमतं समर्थयता अभिनवगुप्तपादेन प्रोक्तम्,—"इतिहास-पुराणकोशादौ च नवरसाः श्रूयन्ते । श्रीमत्सिद्धान्तशास्त्रेष्वपि । तथा चोक्तम्—

अष्टानामिह देवानां श्रृङ्गारादीन् प्रदर्शयेत् ।
मध्ये च देवदेवस्य शान्तं रूपं प्रकल्पयेत्[२३] ॥ इति ।

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१८. तत्रैव ६१४-तमे पृष्ठे ।
१९. योगदर्शने १, १-३ ।
२०. अभिनवभारत्याम् ६३५-तमे पृष्ठे ।
२१. तत्रैव ६२७-तमे पृष्ठे ।
२२. तत्रैव ६३५-तमे पृष्ठे ।
२३. तत्रैव ६३६-तमे पृष्ठे ।

अतएव च हेतो र्भरतमुनिना—

"मोक्षाध्यात्मनिमित्तस्तत्त्वज्ञानार्थहेतुसंयुक्तः ।
निःश्रेयसधर्मयुतः शान्तरसो नाम विज्ञेयः ॥"

इत्यत्र 'मोक्षाध्यात्मनिमित्तः' इत्यनेन शान्तस्य विभावः, 'तत्त्वज्ञानार्थहेतुसंयुक्तः' इत्यनेन तत्स्थायी, 'निःश्रेयसधर्मयुतः' इत्यनेन तदनुभावश्च क्रमात् प्रदर्शिताः तथा 'स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य' इत्यादिपूर्वोक्तकारिकया शान्तस्य रसान्तरप्रकृतित्वमुपसंहृतम् ।

"ननु भरतमुनिना 'डिम'-लक्षण-प्रसङ्गे षड्रसलक्षणयुक्तश्चतुरङ्को वै डिमः कार्यः ।"

"श्रृङ्गार-हास्य-वर्जः शेषैरन्यैः समायुक्तः" "दीप्तरसकाव्ययोनिः[24]॥" इत्यादि प्रतिपादितम् । अत्र 'दीप्तरसकाव्ययोनि'रित्यादिना डिमे रौद्रस्य प्राधान्यम्, हास्य-श्रृङ्गार परिहारेण तस्य षड्रसत्वं च प्रतिपादितम् । यदिनाम शान्तोऽपि नवमो रसो भवेत्तर्हि हास्य-श्रृङ्गारवर्जनेनापि डिमे सप्तरसत्वेन 'षड्रसलक्षणयुक्तः' इति कथनमसंगतम् । अतः शान्तरसो न मुनेः संमत इति चेत्, न, रौद्ररस-प्रधाने डिमे बलात् सेव्यमानयोर्हास्य-श्रृङ्गारयोः संभाव्यमानत्वात् तयोर्निषेधाय श्रृङ्गार-हास्यवर्ज' इति । शान्तस्य तु डिमे संभावनाया एवाभावात् नामग्राहपूर्वकं तस्य निषेधस्यानावश्यकत्वात् । अतो नवमशान्तरस-स्वीकारे न कापि विप्रतिपत्तिः । अभिनवगुप्तपादमतेन भरतमुनेर्डिमलक्षणं प्रत्युत शान्तस्य साधकमेव न बाधकम् । यतोहि तत्र मुनिना 'दीप्तरसकाव्ययोनिः' इत्यनेन शान्तरस एव व्यवच्छेद्यते । शान्तरसास्वीकारे कस्य व्यवच्छेदः स्यात् ? न च करुणाद्भुत-प्राधान्यमनेन व्यवच्छेद्यते इति वाच्यम् ? 'सात्त्वत्यारभटीवृत्तिसम्पन्नः'[25] इत्यनेनैव करुणाद्भुतयोर्निरासात् । यतस्तयोः सात्त्वत्यारभट्यौ वृत्ति एव न भवतः । शान्ते तु सात्त्वत्याः सत्त्वेन तस्य (शान्तस्य) व्यवच्छेदार्थं 'दीप्तरसकाव्ययोनिः' इति संगतम् । अन्यच्च दीप्तरसपदेन करुणाद्भुतयोर्व्यवच्छेद्यत्वे डिमस्य षड्रसयुक्तत्वकथनमपि न संगच्छेत । अतो डिमलक्षणं प्रत्युत शान्तरसस्य सद्भावे लिङ्गम् । एवञ्चाभिनवगुप्तपादेन शान्तरस-सद्भावं समर्थ्य "अस्य रसस्य यम-नियमेश्वर-प्रणिधानाद्युपदेशेऽनुयोगितया महाफलत्वं, सर्वप्राधान्यम्, इतिवृत्तव्यापकत्वं चोपपन्नमित्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन[26]" इत्युक्तम् ।

ततश्चाभिनवभारतीकारेण शान्तरसस्यास्वादप्रकारं प्रकटयता प्रतिपादितम्,—
"अस्मिन् शान्तरसे विशुद्धमात्मस्वरूपं रत्यादिषूपरञ्जकेषु तथाभावेनापि सकृद्विभातोऽयमात्मेति-

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[24] नाट्यशास्त्रे १०, ८७-९२ चौखम्बासंस्करणे ।

[25] नाट्यशास्त्रे २०, ९२ ।

[26] अभिनवभारत्याम् ६३९-तमे पृष्ठे ।

न्यायेन भासमानं परोन्मुखतात्मक-सकल-दुःखजालहीनं परमानन्द-लाभ-संविदेकत्वेन काव्य-प्रयोग-प्रबन्धाभ्यां साधारणतया निर्भासमानम् अन्तर्मुखावस्थाभेदेन लोकोत्तरानन्दानयनं तथाविधहृदयं विधत्ते। एवं ते नवैव रसाः। पुमर्थोपयोगित्वेन रञ्जनाधिक्येन वा इयतामेवोपदेश्यत्वात्[२७]" इति।

शारदातनयेन स्वीये "भावप्रकाशने" पद्मभू-मतेन शान्त-रहिता अष्टौ नाट्यरसा इति तथा वासुकि-मतेन शान्त-सहिता नव नाट्यरसा इति प्रतिपादितम्[२८]। एतद्विषयोल्लेखो भरतनाट्यशास्त्रे कदाचिदासीदिति तत्तात्पर्यम्।

आचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादानां सयुक्तिकं पूर्वोक्तं मतं विलोक्यापि केचित् समालोचकाः भरतमुनिप्रतिपादित-शान्तरस-समस्यामसमाहितामेव मन्यन्ते। तेषां पुरतो मया स्वमतमुपस्थाप्यते—

(क) छन्दोदृष्ट्या चौखम्बासंस्करणस्य 'अष्टौ' इति पदयुक्तपाठात् गायकवाड-संस्करणस्य दिल्लीविश्वविद्यालयसंस्करणस्यच 'नव' इति पदयुक्तः पाठोऽधिकः सुसङ्गतः। यतोहि 'अष्टौ' इति पाठे सर्वत्र छन्दःपूर्त्यर्थम् 'च, तु, हि, इति' इत्यादि निरर्थक-पदान्युपलभ्यन्ते। स च दोषः 'नव' इति पाठे नास्ति। अतः 'अष्टौ' इति 'नव' इत्यस्य स्थाने परिवर्तितः पाठः प्रतीयते।

(ख) विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य काव्यशास्त्रीयभागस्य रसविवेचनं सर्वथा "नाट्यशास्त्रा"-नुसारि इति सर्वे समालोचका ऐकमत्येन स्वीकुर्वते। पुराणञ्चेदं पञ्चमशतकात् प्राचीनमेवेति पाश्चात्त्यपद्धत्या विचारयन्तोऽपि विद्वांसो मन्यन्ते। एतत्पुराणस्य तृतीयखण्डे[२९] प्रतिपादितेषु नवसु रसेषु शान्तस्यापि विवेचनं वरीवर्ति। तत्र सर्वप्रथमम्

"शान्तस्य तु समुत्पत्तिर्नृप वैराग्यतः स्मृता।
स चाभिनेयो भवति लिङ्गग्रहणतस्तथा[३०]॥"

इत्यादिरूपेण शान्तस्यैव विवेचनमित्यधिकमहत्त्वपूर्णविषयः। एतदनुसारेण निर्बाधमिदं स्वीकर्तुं शक्यते, यन्नाट्यशास्त्रेपि शान्तरसस्यप्रतिपादनमभूत् तथा अभिनवगुप्तपादानुसारेण सर्वप्रथममभूत्।

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[२७] तत्रैव ६४०-तमे पृष्ठे।

[२८] भावप्रकाशने ४७-तमे पृष्ठे। द्रष्टव्या लेखकस्य "काव्यात्ममीमांसा" ३४४-४५-तम पृष्ठयोः (चौ० सं०)।

[२९] विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे तृतीयखण्डे १५शे, १७शे ३० शे चाध्याये।

[३०] तत्रैव तृतीयखण्डे ३०, ६। द्रष्टव्या "काव्यात्समीमांसा" ३३३ तमे पृष्ट।

(ग) पञ्चमशतके रचिते जैनग्रन्थे "अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रे"ऽपि[31] शान्तरस-प्रतिपादनं प्राप्यते। अत्र शान्तस्य विभावादिनिरूपणं "नाट्यशास्त्रा"नुसार्येव। अतः शान्तरसस्य प्रथमोद्भावनं भरतनाट्यशास्त्रेऽनङ्गीकृत्य "अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रे" तत्स्वीकरणमसङ्गतमेव।

(घ) दण्डिना "काव्यादर्शे" काव्यपरत्वेन रस-विचारे कृतेऽपि यदुद्भटेन "काव्यालंकारसारसंग्रहे" 'नव नाट्यरसाः स्मृताः' इत्युल्लिखितं तत् सूचयति यदुद्भटः नाट्यशास्त्रस्य तत्पाण्डुलिपिं प्राप यत्र नवसु रसेषु शान्तस्यापि प्रतिपादनमासीत्। दण्डि-धनञ्जय-धनिक-मम्मटादिभिः शान्तापलापिनां पाठ उपलब्धो येन तैः शान्तस्य तादृशो चर्चा नाकारि।

(ङ) एवमेव च कालिदास-विषयेऽपि शक्यते वक्तुं यत्तेनापि 'अष्टौरसाः' इत्येव पाठ उपलब्धः। कालिदासस्य च 'अष्टरसाश्रयः प्रयोगः' इत्यत्र 'प्रयोग' शब्दप्रयोगोऽतीव-साभिप्रायः। अर्थात् प्रयोगात्मकतया-अभिनयात्मकतया तस्य अष्टावेव रसा अभिप्रेता आसन्। समस्तव्यापारप्रविलयरूपशान्तस्य व्यापार-प्रधानेऽभिनयात्मके नाट्ये प्रयोगो न संभवः। इदमेव च मतं धनञ्जय-धनिकाभ्यामप्यनुसृतम्।

नाट्ये शान्तरसस्याभिनयो भवितुं शक्नोतीति वासुकिभट्टोद्भटाभिनवगुप्त-निःशङ्कशार्ङ्गदेव-जगन्नाथ-प्रभृतीनां निर्भ्रान्तं मतम्। एतद्विषये मदीयापि निर्भ्रान्तधारणा वरीवर्ति, यत् शान्तस्याभिनयो भवितुं शक्नोति तथा च सफलं भवितुं शक्नोति। एतस्य विवेचनं सविस्तरं मयान्यत्र[32] कृतमिति नेह वितन्यते।

पूर्वोक्तयोरुभयोः पक्षयोर्निष्पक्षरूपेण विचारेण "नाट्यशास्त्रे"ऽपि शान्तरस-प्रतिपादनमभूदिति आचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादानां मतं नासङ्गतमिति शम्।

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[31] अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रे १२६, गाथा ८१-८२। "काव्यात्ममीमांसा" ३३४-तमे पृष्ठे।

[32] विहार-सङ्गीत-नृत्य-नाट्यपरिषत् पत्रिकायाम् (क्रमसंख्या १३)।

Advaitavada or Philosophy of Nondualism in Kamarupa

By

MANORANJAN SHASTRI

There is much of scattered material, which, put together, may definitely prove that studies in all branches of Indian philosophy were in vogue in Kāmarūpa as extensively as in other parts of India. My observations will be confined here only to the Advaita philosophy in upaniṣads and preached by Śankarācarya.

In the Nidhanpur Copperplate of King Bhāskaravarman (of the 7th century A.D.) it is described that Mahendravarman, the ancestor of Bhāskaravarman, was a wise man possessing spiritual knowledge (*ātmavidaḥ*) and his son Nārāyaṇavarman was compared with King Janaka of Mithilā in wisdom of the true nature of the soul or supreme spirit (*janakamivādhigatasāṁkhyārtham*)[1]

This indicates that Advaita philosophy, in which King Janaka of Mithila was a reputed scholar, formed a part of the popular scheme of learning during that time in Kāmarūpa.

In the first verse of the Copperplate of King Ratnapāla (of the 10th century A.D.) it is narrated that God Śaṅkara even being one in his real nature reveals himself as many through his *Prākāmya*—irresistible will, just as the Paramātman (Supreme soul) reveals himself as so many beings.[2]

It informs that studies in the philosophy, which hold the theory of one Supreme soul (*paramātmā*) revealing as many individual souls, were traditionally maintained in this part of our motherland.

The opening verse of *Svalpamatsyapurāṇa,* which is presumed to have been compiled somewhere in Kāmarūpa earlier than the 11th century A.D.,[3] states, "Let me make obeisance to that supreme person in the form of Fish on whom the whole universe is floating as a boat in an ocean, in whom all existing things, like a snake for a rope, are superimposed for want of realisation of difference and who revealed himself in ten forms (incarnations)—Fish, tortoise, etc., through his divine sport with different powers (supremacy).[4]

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[1] तस्मादजनयदात्मजमात्मविदः सुव्रता भुवः स्थितये ।
नारायणवर्माणं जनकमिवाधिगतसांख्यार्थम् ॥
(कामरूपशासनावली, पृः १३)

[2] एवं यः परमात्मवत् पृथुगुणो ह्येकोऽप्यनेकी भवन् ।
प्राकाम्यं दधदेव भाति भुवने सस्तात् श्रिये शङ्करः ॥
(कामरूपशासनावली, पृः ६१)

[3] See my article "the Svalpamatsyapurāṇa" published in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, Vol. IX, 1952, parts I, 2, 3, issued in November 1953.

The *Kālikāpurāṇa,* in its recension of Bengal and Assam, has been unanimously accepted to be compiled in ancient Kāmarūpa earlier than the 12th century A.D. It contains a good number of verses which agree in view of Advaita system only. The following of them may be mentioned here as the proof of prevalence of Advaita system of philosophy in Kāmarūpa during the time when the work was compiled.

स विष्णुरूपो पुरुषः पुराणस्तस्मिन् समस्तं च विभाति तद्वत् ॥
ततो ब्रह्मणि लीने तु परमात्मनि शाश्वते ।
जगत् सर्वं क्रमेणैव तद्रूपत्वाय गच्छति ॥ (कालिकापुराण, २५.८१-८२)
निराधारं निराकारं निःसत्त्वं निरवग्रहम् ।
आनन्दमयमद्वैतं द्वैतहीनविशेषणम् ॥
न स्थूलं न च सूक्ष्मं यज् ज्ञानं नित्यं निरञ्जनम् ।
एकमासीत् परं ब्रह्म स्वप्रकाशं समन्ततः ॥

* * *

आसीदेकं परं तत्त्वं ततः सृष्टिः प्रवर्त्तते । (काः पुः, २४. १२३-२६)
लयभागे व्यतीते तु सिसृक्षा समजायत ।
ज्ञानस्वरूपस्य तदा परमब्रह्मणो विभोः ॥
ततोऽस्य प्रकृतिस्तेन सम्यक् संक्षोभिता भिया ।
संक्षुब्धा सर्वकार्यार्थमभूत् सा त्रिगुणात्मिका ॥
यथा सन्निधिमात्रेण गन्धः क्षोभाय जायते ।
मनसो लोककर्त्तृत्वात्तथाऽसौ परमेश्वरः ॥
स एव क्षोभको ब्रह्मन् द्योभ्यश्च परमेश्वरः ।
स संकोचविकाशाभ्यां प्रधानत्वेऽपि च स्थितः ॥ (काः पुः, २५. २-५)

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[4] यस्मिन् सर्वमिदं जगज्जलनिधौ पोतायितं नित्यशः
यस्मिन् विश्वमिदं विवेकविरहाद् रज्जौ भुजङ्गायितम् ।
यो जातो दशधा विशेषविभवैमत्स्यादिभिर्लीलया
तस्मै श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाय सततं मत्स्याय तुभ्यं नमः ॥
(Ms. No. 264 Kāmarūpa Sanskrit Sanjīvani Sabhā collection p. 1B.)

एकं शिवं शान्तमनन्तमच्युतं परात्परं ज्ञानमयं विशेषणम् ।
अद्वैतमव्यक्तमचिन्त्यरूपं सारं त्वेकं नास्ति सारं तदन्यत् ॥
(काः पुः, २४. ५)

यज्ज्योतिरग्रयं स्वपरप्रकाशं कूटस्थमव्यक्तमनन्तरूपम् ।
नित्यं च दीर्घादिविशेषणाद्यैर्हीनं परं तच्च वयं न भिन्नाः ॥
(काः पुः, ११. ५६)

Another aspect of the theology propagated in this Purāṇa deserving consideration is that it has not strayed from its standpoint of maintaining the supremacy of God Visṇu though it has devoted the greater portion in propagating superiority of God Śiva and Goddess Durgā or Māyā. In the beginning and closing verses of the Purāṇa the author has made prayer to Hari (God Visṇu) and Māyā who is called Viṣṇumāyā because of being the supreme power of Visṇu.[5]

Supremacy of God Visṇu as held in this Purāṇa may be clearly understood if the eulogistic narrations related to different gods noticed in it are carefully observed.

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[5] यद् योगिभिर्भवभयार्तिविनाशयोग्यमासाद्य वन्दितमतीव विविक्तचित्तैः ।
तद्वः पुनातु हरिपादसरोजयुग्ममाविर्भवत् क्रमविलङ्घित भूर्भुवःस्वः ॥
स पातु वः सकलयोगिजनस्य चित्तेऽविद्यातमिस्रतरणिर्यतिमुक्तिहेतुः ।
या चास्यजन्तुनिवहस्य विमोहिनीति माया विभोर्जनुषि शुद्धकुबुद्धिहन्त्री ॥
(काः पुः, १. १-२)

यो लोकमीशः सततं विभर्ति यः पालयत्यन्तकरस्तथान्ते ।
इदं समस्तं भ्रमभ्रमं वा यदीयरूपं च नमोऽस्तु तस्मै ॥
प्रधानपुरुषौ यस्य प्रपञ्चो योगिनां हृदि ।
यः पुराणाधिपो विष्णुः प्रसीदतु स वः शिवः ॥
यो हेतुरुग्रः पुरुषः पुराणः सनातनः शाश्वत ईश्वरः परः ।
पुराणकृद्वेदपुराणवेद्यः प्रस्तौमि तन्नौमि पुराण शेषे ॥
इति सकलजगद् विभर्ति या सा मधुरिपुमोहकरी रमास्वरूपा ।
रमयति च हरं शिवास्वरूपा वितरतु वो विभवं शुभानि माया ॥
(काः पुः, ९०. ३४-४२)

विष्णुमायामृते दक्ष महामायां जगन्मयीम् ।
नान्या तन्मोहकत्री स्यात् सन्ध्यासावित्र्युमामृते ॥ (काः पुः ५. ३)
या सृष्टिशक्तिरस्माकं स्थितिशक्तिश्च या हरेः ।
अन्त शक्तिस्तथैशानी सा त्वं शक्तिः सनातनी ॥
एका त्वं द्विविधा भूत्वा मोक्षसंसारकारिणी ।
विद्याऽविद्यास्वरूपेण स्वप्रकाशाप्रकाशतः ॥ (काः पुः, ५. २६-२७)

Thus, it may be observed that the philosophical content of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* is in agreement with the philosophy propagated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*[6] and *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[7], which is on its part based on the Advaita system of Indian philosophy.

In the Kāmarūpa recension of *Āṅgirasa saṁhitā,* which was probably compiled before the 14th century A.D., contains many such verses from which the popularity of Advaitavāda may be easily inferred. Only a few of these are quoted here:—

नासीदिदं जगत् कृत्स्नं ब्रह्मव्योमादिलक्षणम् ।
किन्त्वासीत् परमं ब्रह्म यदव्यक्तं सनातनम् ॥
यत्र लीनं जगत् सर्वं कर्म्मबन्धनियन्त्रितम् ।
तन्नीरूपं निराकारमचिन्त्यं नित्यमव्ययम् ॥
प्राप्यदृष्टवशात्तस्मात् सिसृक्षा समजायत ।

* * *

ब्रह्मवेदैर्ब्रह्म यदा परया ब्रह्ममात्रया ।
विना मोक्षो न लभ्येत जन्मकोटिशतैरपि ॥
ब्रह्मज्ञानं यतो विप्रा एतत्रयसमाश्रयम् ।
क्षयित्वा सर्व कर्माणि परब्रह्मणि लीयते ॥

(आङ्गिरससंहिता Ms. 1025, Kāmarūpa Sanskrit Sañjivanī Sabhā collection, pp. 1-2).

Nārāyaṇa Sarvajña, who, in all probability, flourished in ancient Kāmarūpa prior to the 12th century A.D., has followed Advaita system of philosophy in his commentary on the *Manusaṁhitā.*[8]

Moreover, it is understood from *Aṁśaprakāśikā,* a commentary on the *Viṣṇuprāṇa* by *Nīlāmbarācārya,* that Nārāyaṇa Sarvajña wrote a commentary on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* also, where he explained it in the same way with Nīlāmbarācārya.

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[6] Abbreviated as B.P.

[7] Abbreviated as V.P.

[8] एवं विश्वस्योपादानं प्रकृतिशक्तियुक्तः परमात्मैवेति दर्शितम् (मन्वर्थविवृत्तिः १-७) ; ब्रह्मभूयाय जीवन्मुक्त्या ब्रह्ममावाय समर्थो भवति (१२-१०२) ; वाङ्मनामात्मन्येवाध्यासादधिष्ठानतया सर्वत्रप्रकाशमानमहङ्कारावच्छिन्नं पुरुषं × × × विद्यात् भावयेत् अहं ब्रह्मास्मीति जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः प्रत्यक्षापरक्षयोस्तदुपाधिद्वयपरित्यागेनैक्यं चिन्तयेदित्यर्थः । १२-१०२ ; देहद्वयरूपोपाधित्यागात्तदेव ब्रह्म भवति नित्यानन्दप्रकाशरूपेणावतिष्ठत इत्यर्थः । १२-१२५

Nīlāmbara has mentioned the explanation made by Nārāyaṇa Sarvajña in places wherever he differed from the latter.

Nīlāmbarācārya (13th century A.D.) wrote four works, namely, (1) *Kālakaumudī*, digest on *Dharmaśāstra* dealing with appropriate times for religious ceremonies; (2) *Candraprabhā*—a digest of smṛti, dealing with different sins and penances to be performed for them; (3) *Śrāddhabhāṣyam* or *Śrāddha-prakāśa*, a *Bhāṣya* on the *Śrāddhasūtras* of Katyāyana, and (4) *Aṁśaprakāśikā*, a commentary on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. It is observed that the author puts in the opening verses of his 3rd and 4th work the meaning of 3rd and 4th *sūtras* of Vādarāyaṇa respectively.[9] It leads us to comprehend that probably the meaning of the 1st and the 2nd sūtra of Vādarāyaṇa had been put in the opening verses of his 1st and 2nd work. We could not find the 2nd work at all and the beginning portion of the first work up till now.

However, the Aṁśaprakāśikā precisely shows that the author of it was a follower of Vaisnavism or Bhāgavata Dharma, based on the Advaita philosophy and an erudite scholar of Indian philosophy possessing profound proficiency in Advaita system.

Throughout his work in course of explaining the verses of V.P. the learned author has supported the view of Advaitins showing arguments and quoting Śrutis, Smritis and writings of Śaṅkaracarya as well as of other eminent exponents of that system.

He says that three words—Brahman, Īśvara and Jīva really mean the one thing which appears as three in its three stages. Viṣṇu is only the supreme reality; He is called Brahman when He exists without any attributive, Īśvara when he enveloped in Māyā with all supreme powers and Jīva when he appears in disguise of the individual self endowed with Antaḥkaraṇa along with desire and action:

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[9] See my articles on Nīlāmbarācārya published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, June 1957.

ब्रह्मधर्म्मप्रकाशार्था यस्यामी वेदराशयः ।
षड्भिरङ्गैर्युताः श्वासा ब्रह्म तच्छ्रेयसेऽस्तु नः ॥

(*Śrāddhabhāṣyam*, Ms. No. 261, K. S. S. Sabhā collection)

Quarterly. Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, June 1957.

एतावत्यर्थगहने कथं स्यादयमुद्यमः ।
पितुर्व्याख्या विशेषश्चेन्मानसे मम नाश्रयेत ॥ (अंशप्रकाशिका, पृः १.)

ईक्षत्यादिपदोपात्तहेतुभिर्यत्समन्वयः ।
वेदान्तानां विपश्चिद्भिरुच्यतेशं तनोतु नः ॥
जठरनिहितविश्वं विष्णुमीड्यं सुरौघैरसुरबलविपक्षं पक्षिराजोप्यविष्टम् ।
हृदयनलिनसंस्थं श्यामलाम्भोदवर्णं विशददशनदीप्त्या भासितास्यं नमामि ॥

(*Aṁśaprakāśikā*, transcribed copy of mine p. 1.)

शास्त्रयोनित्वात् । तत्तु समन्वयात् । (ब्रह्मसूत्र, १. १. ३,४)

अनेन ब्रह्मेश्वरपुरुषशब्दानामर्थभेदो दर्शित इति तात्पर्यम्। तथा हि विष्णुरेव सिसृक्षाद्यशेषशक्तिरहितं ब्रह्मोच्यते। स एव मायोपाधिकोऽशेषशक्तिसहित ईश्वर उच्यते। स एवान्तःकरणोपहितः काम कर्मान्वितो जीव इत्युच्यते। ....यथादेवदत्तदण्डिकुण्डलि शब्दानां भिन्नानामपि देवदत्तैके पर्यवसानं तथैवैषां विष्णाविति।

The following quotations from his work may be sufficient to show the philosophical view of the author.

"अपौरुषेयत्वेन सकलदोषाशङ्कारहितस्य वेदस्य कार्य इव सिद्धेऽप्यन्वयः तत्तु समन्वयादित्यादिवादरायणोपदेशबलादबाधित प्रतीतिजनकत्वाच्च सिद्धः। तन्मूलत्वाच्च स्मृतीतिहास पुराणानां चान्वयस्तादृश एव व्याख्येयः।........तत्र मिथ्याज्ञानजनितसंसाराङ्गारे विपच्यमानानामविच्छिन्नदुःखसन्ततिमवलोक्य तस्याश्च तत्त्वज्ञानैकनिवर्त्तनीयतया तत्त्वज्ञानमुपदिदिक्षुर्भगवान् पराशरः" इत्यादि। (p. 1)

"अथ व्याख्यातव्य पुराणप्रतिपाद्यं जीवब्रह्माभेदं तज्ज्ञानफलं मोक्षं च, ब्रह्मभूतस्य विष्णोः सकलप्रपञ्चकारणत्वं चाभिधाय"—इत्यादि। (p. 4)

"चेतनस्य विष्णोर्व्यापकस्य जगत्कारणत्वं न प्रधानस्य; तस्याचेतनस्याव्यापकत्वान्न विष्णुशब्दवाच्यता। 'ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दमि'त्यादिसूत्रैः 'तदैक्षत, तत्तेजोऽसृजत बहु स्यां प्रजायेय इत्यादि श्रुतिभिः प्रतिपादितं चेतनकारणत्वं नेह वितन्यते विस्तरभयात्।" (p. 5)

"पूर्वोपात्तपदेभ्योऽसकृदापाततः प्रतीतमसदर्थात्मकत्वं भगवतो निराकर्तुमर्थस्य च मरुमरीचिकापयःपुरादिवदाभासत्वं प्रतिपादयितुमाह ज्ञानस्वरूपमित्यादि"। (p. 6)

"एवमद्वैतं स्मारयित्वा प्रकृतमुपक्रमते"। (p. 10)

"व्यवहारिकमविद्याकृतन्त्विदमनूद्याद्वैतमेव स्मारयति।" (p. 14)

"द्वैतविभ्रमस्याद्वैतवस्त्वधिष्ठानत्वात्।" (p. 32)

"अविद्या ध्वंसो हि मोक्षः। स च ब्रह्मैव यथा घटप्रागभावध्वंसो घट एव, सद्विलक्षणस्याविद्यारूपस्य ध्वंसो ब्रह्म। अन्यथा ध्वंसेन द्वैतापत्तेः।" (p. 43)

"शरीरेऽहं प्रत्ययोऽध्यास कृत एवेति स्फुटं दर्शयति ददृव्येति।........यथाहुराचार्यपादाः—'तमेतमेवंलक्षणमध्यासं पण्डिता अविद्येति मन्यन्ते। तमेतमेवाविद्याख्यमात्मानात्मनोरितरेतराध्यासं पुरस्कृत्य सर्वे प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारा लौकिकाः प्रवृत्ताः सर्वाणि च शास्त्राणि विधिप्रतिषेधपराणि।" (p. 87, quoted from *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*, 1.1.1.)

We are also informed by the author that in explaining this work —*Viṣṇupurāṇa* he has followed explanation of his father Śaṅkarṣaṇācārya.[9] It indicates that his father also was a follower of Vaisnavism based on the Advaitavāda.

This work, no doubt, is the most valuable contribution to Advaita philosophy from Kāmarūpa (Modern Assam).

Radhamohan Goswami Bhattacarya has stated in his commentary on *Tattvasandarbha* that there were two schools of Advaitavādins (followers of non-dualism) : one of them is called Bhāgavatas into which Śrīdharasvāmin and his followers were initiated and other is called smārtas.[10]

The above mentioned evidences show that the Bhagavatism based on the Advaita philosophy, (which to my mind appears to have been followed by Śaṅkaradeva, Dāmodaradeva, Harideva and their followers) prevailed in ancient Assam, earlier than 11th century A.D., even three hundred years earlier than Śrīdharasvāmi's time.[11]

None of the later writers including Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa, Śaṇkaradeva and Bhaṭṭadeva, even mentioned the name of this work of Nīlāmbarācārya. But, on the contrary Śaṅkaradeva, Bhaṭṭadeva and some other Vaiṣṇava writers repeatedly quoted the passages from the *Bhāgavata-bhāvārthadīpikā* and *Gītāsubodhinī* of Śrīdharasvāmin as well as from the *Bhakti-Ratnāvali-Kāntimālā* of Viṣṇupurī.

The *Aṁśaprakāśikā* of Nīlāmbara probably became unavailable by that time when the Vaiṣṇava saints flourished. Another reason, for which it was not mentioned, is probably that they depended mainly on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and *Bhagavadgītā* as the source of their faith. So the V.P., and its commentary were of less importance to their mind than *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and its commentary.

For Nīlābarācārya, on the other hand, the importance or authority of *Viṣṇupurāṇa* was more than that of *Bhāgavatapurāṇa,* because the spiritual preachers of earlier time including Śaṅkarācārya and Rāmānuja accepted V.P., to be the most authoritative among the purāṇas and quoted dicta from it but not from B.P.

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[9] See my paper on Nīlāmvarācārya, published in the Indian Historical Quarterly.

एतावत्यर्थगहने कथं स्यादयमुद्यमः ।
पितुर्व्याख्या विशेषश्चेन्मानसे मम नाश्रयेत् ॥

[अंशप्रकाशिका p. 1.]

[10] "भागवतः स्मार्त इत्यद्वैतवादिसम्प्रदायद्वयम् । तत्र भागवतसम्प्रदायान्तर्गतः श्रीधरस्वामी, तस्य वैकुण्ठनाथप्रधानतया । भागवतव्याख्यानेऽपि तद्व्याख्यात भगवद्रूप-तद्भक्तिप्राधान्यमेवादृतम् ।" Com. p. 81, *Tattvasandarbha* of *Ṣaṭsandarbha.*

[11] See my paper on 'Date of Viṣṇupuri' published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* vol. XXXVI, Nos. 2 and 3, June and September, 1960.

Possibly that was why Nīlāmbarācārya chooses to write a commentary on the V.P., rather than on the B.P., though he had recognised the authority of B.P. also without any question, by quoting verses from it in support of his arguments.

Next to Nīlambarācārya, Mahamahopādhyā Rājaguru Dāmodaramiśra of 15th century A.D., deserves special mention among the followers and contributors to Advaita philosophy from Assam.

Besides other works, he also wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavadgīta,* which is referred to by Bhaṭṭadeva in his *Kathāgītā* and the *Suvyaktapañjikā,* a commentary on the *Śāntiśataka* of Sihlanācārya and the *Hastāmalakapañjikā,* a commentary on the Hastāmalakastotram of Śaṅkarācārya.[12]

His commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* is not available now. One manuscript of *Suvyaktapañjikā* and only the 1st folio of a ms. of *Hastāmalakapañjikā,* which we have noticed, may be sufficient evidence to prove his adherence and proficiency in Advaita philosophy.

The opening verse of his *Suvyaktapañjikā* is :

प्रणम्य परमात्मानमक्षराक्षरविग्रहम् ।
व्याकुर्वे शान्तिशतकं यत्र ब्रह्म सनातनम् ॥
(Ms. No. 328 K.S.S. Sabhā Col.)

He began his commentary on the *Hastāmalakastotram* as follows :

प्रणम्य परमात्मानं विनिर्म्माति महेश्वरम् ।
मिश्रो दामोदरो यत्नाद्धस्तामलकपञ्जिकाम् ॥
अनात्मभूतदेहादावात्मबुद्धिस्तु देहिनाम् ।
साऽविद्या तत्कृतो बन्धस्तन्नाशो मोक्ष उच्यते ॥
अनात्मन्यात्मविज्ञानान् जनान् संसारसागरे ।
निमज्जतः समुद्धर्त्तुं विद्यामुपदिशत्यसौ ॥
इत्याह निमित्तमिति ।........
(Ms. No. 403. K.S.S. Col.)

We have shown elsewhere[13] that the philosophical background of Assam Vaisnavism was Advaitavāda as expounded by Śaṅkarācārya and followed by Śrīdharasvāmin, Viṣṇupurī and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also. Śaṅkaradeva, Bhaṭṭadeva and other Vaiṣṇava writers of Assam faithfully quoted passages from Śrīdharasvāmin's writings and strictly followed his view in propagating their religious faith.

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[12] See my article on Mahāmahopādhyāya Rājaguru Dāmodaramiśra, published in the Journal of the University of Gauhati, 1954 and 1956.

[13] *Asamar Vaiṣṇava Darśanar Rūparekhā.*

Quoting a verse from *Yogasāra,* Śaṅkaradeva in his *Bhaktiratnākara* states that individual souls (*jīvātmā*) are actually calm and free from all passions, and not liable to any change. He is all-pervading and nothing but the *Paramātmā* Himself. Being involved in supreme error he does not recognize himself to be the same :

अविकारी विभुः शान्तस्त्वभिन्नः परमात्मना ।
भ्रान्तिज्ञानावृतो भूत्वा नात्मानं वेत्ति तादृशम् ॥

(भक्तिरत्नाकर, २२.१)

Bhaṭṭadeva has stated in his *Bhaktiviveka,* quoting Śrīdharasvāmin's explanation, thus :

नानावतारतया भेदेन प्रतीयमानोऽपि दारुभेदादग्निभेदवत् सजातीयभेदशून्यम् एकम् विजातीयदेहाद्याश्रयतया जीवरूपेण नानात्मतया दृश्यमानोऽपि घटाद्याकाशवद् विजातीयभेदरहितम् ; सर्वं बृंहकत्वेन च परिपूर्णं ब्रह्म (भक्तिविवेकः तृतीयपरिच्छेदः)।

We do not proceed to quote further passages from their writings which cannot be explained in agreement with other systems of Indian philosophy than that of non-dualism.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Puruṣottama Vidyāvāgīśa, the author of the *Prayogaratnamālā-vyākaraṇa,* and Mahāmahopādhyāya Pītāmvara Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya the most prominent Smṛtinibandhakāra (digest writer on Dharmaśāstra) of Assam during the 16th century A.D., are both understood to have been initiated in a Vaisnavite cult based on the Samayācāra system of Tantricism.

In the opening verses of *Prayogaratnamālā vyākaraṇa* the author Puruṣottama Vidyāvāgīśa made prayer to God Kṛṣṇa. In third and 4th verses, noticed in some Mss., of the same work, he praised his patron king Naranārāyana (Malladeva). These two ślokas are composed in such a way that they also suggest a meaning embodying the doctrine of monism which is based on the Samayācāra system of Tantricism.

The 3rd verse states that the whole universe is produced by *Tāra* (Brahman or *Praṇava*) through his full ingenuity or fraud (*kalā*), revealing first in form of 50 letters (varaṇamālā) which developed from his *five* supreme powers[14] (namely, शिव, शक्ति, सदाशिव, ईश्वर, and शुद्धविद्या or सर्वकर्तृता, सर्वज्ञता, नित्यतृप्तता, नित्यता and स्वतन्त्रता)।

[14] तारं हृद्येकहारं विदधदविरतं पञ्चतद्वैभवोद्यत्-
पञ्चाशद्वर्णमालात्मकसकलकलाकल्पिताशेषविश्वम् ।

In the opening verse of *Samāsavinyāsa* the author made obeisance to all things through Nāda and the Vindu.[15]

In the opening verse of *Samāsavinyāsa* the author made obeisance to that *Śabda-Brahman* by whom the creation of the universe, consisting of distribution and aggregation of words and meanings revealed which infatutates even the wise person.[16] This verse reminds us of the well-known beginning verse of *Vākyapadīya* :

अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।
विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥

Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa too (between 1530 and 1620 A.D.)[17] performed *Maṅgalācaraṇa* at the beginning of almost all works he had written with the prayer of God Viṣṇu. The philosophical view of the author may be concluded by a few fragmentary remarks as found in his *Gūḍhārtha-prakāśikā,* the commentary on the *Śāradātilaka.* The following passages may be considered as sufficient indication of his concurrence with the Advaita philosophy, recognized in *Samayācāra* of Tāntricism which was expounded by Śaṅkarācārya in his *Saundaryalaharī* and was followed by Padmapādācārya in *Prapañcasāra* and by Lakṣmaṇācārya in *Śāradātilaka.*

"नित्यानन्दवपुरिति × × × नित्यमनाद्यविनश्य आनन्द एव शरीरं यस्य तन्नित्यं विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्मेति श्रुतेः ।"

(Ms. which I have transcribed, p. 1B.)

"ब्रह्मणः सच्चिदानन्दत्वस्वीकारात्" (ibid., p. 3A)

"शक्तिरूपस्य शक्तिशक्तिमतोरभेदात् । उपाधिभेदाद्भेदोपभेदौ स्वर्णकुम्भवत्" (ibid., p. 3A)

सन्नर्मा योगधर्मादितकरवदराकारसंवेद्यविद्या-
तत्त्वःसंशुद्धसत्त्वश्चिरमवतुधरामण्डलं मल्लदेवः ॥

[15] यो नादविन्दुपरिकल्पितकल्पनीय-
तत्तद्विचित्रपदधातुविभक्तिलिङ्गम् ।
शब्दानुशासनमिवात्म-विभावनाभिः
शुद्धं शरीरमशरीरजयी बभार ॥

[16] यस्य व्याससमासात्मा शब्दार्थमयनिर्म्मितः ।
विद्वद्व्यामोहजननी शब्दब्रह्म नतोऽस्मि तत् ॥

[17] Vide my paper on "the Kāmarūpa school of Dharmaśāstra with particular notice of Pitāmvara Siddhāntavāgīśa" published in *Prāgjyotiṣa,* the Souvenir of the XXII session of the All India Oriental Conference at Gauhati, 1965, for information about Siddhānta-vāgīśa.

“अविद्याया ब्रह्मभिन्नत्वबुद्धेर्जीवकल्पकत्वात् सोऽहमिति तदभेदभावनया जीवात्मपरमात्मनोरैक्यमिति परमार्थः ।” (ibid., p. 110 B)

Another scholar, Jīveśwara Bhaṭṭāchāryya, definitely known to be a follower of Advaita philosophy, flourished in Kāmarūpa during the 17th century A.D. He wrote an elaborate commentary on the *Prayogaratnamālā Vyākaraṇa* of which only the *Taddhita* section is available. This section of his work begins with the following benedictory verse which shed light upon the author's philosophical view :

यस्यांशभूतमखिलं चरस्थायिगुणात्मकम् ।
असत्यं सत्यवद्भाति तं वन्दे जगदीश्वरम् ॥

Sarvānanda Bhaṭṭāchārya wrote a commentary of *Prayogaratnamālā-Vyākaraṇa* under the name '*Tātparyadīpikā*' which was completed in 1800 A.D. It is commenced with the following passage :

अद्वैतमानन्दमनन्तमायं कृष्णां नमेऽहं पुरुषं पुराणम् ।
यदंशभूताखिलबुद्धिवृत्तिश्चतुः पुमर्थेषु प्रचोदयाद् यः ॥

* * *

“इह खलु जीवानां ब्रह्मभावाप्तिर्मुक्तिः, सैव परमपुरुषार्थः । स च साधनभक्तिसहकृतज्ञाननिरपेक्षसाध्यभक्तिसाध्यश्च । भक्तिश्च साधनरूपा साध्यरूपा चेति द्विधा ।” etc., (Ms. No. 853, K. S. S. Col.)

It follows that the author was an adherent of Bhagavatism based on the Advaita philosophy which was followed by Śrīdharasvāmin and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

Gaurikānta Dvija the author of a drama named *Vighneśajanmodaya,* which was written in 1799 A.D., began his work with the following benediction :

विष्णुं विष्णुजना वदन्त्यहरहो यद् वै परं पूरुषं
शक्ताः शक्तिरिति ब्रुवन्ति परमा ज्योतिर्मयी निर्गुणा ।
संजल्पन्ति शिवं शिवेशमितरे लोकेशमन्ये जना
एकं वस्तु हि वस्तुतस्तु परमं तच्चिन्मयं चिन्तये ॥

(रूपकत्रय, edited by S. N. Sarma)

The author has given through it a hint of his stand on the Advaita system of Philosophy.

Thus it appears that Advaitavāda or philosophy of monism popularly prevailed in Kāmarūpa and was traditionally maintained among different sects, particularly among the Vaiṣṇavas of Assam as in other parts of India.

A Dance Concert

By

N. S. KRISHNAMURTI

The following excerpt is from a classic in balladry of the Telugus. The ballad is titled 'palnāḍu vīra carita' (Chronicle of the Heroes of Palnāḍ). The Palnāḍ Deśa is now in Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh. This ballad is about an internicine war which took place in the early decades of the 13th century A.D., just on the southern banks of the river Kṛṣṇa, in the Andhra country. The memories of the heroes and their martial qualities live in the hearts of the posterity. The subject of that war is the *motif* for the composition of a ballad poem. The poem was written by the great poet SRINĀTHA and two others.

In this narration is sandwiched a description of a Dance Concert in seventy two lines. The following features are gathered which mostly accord to the tenets laid down in Nāṭya texts.

(i) the orchestral prelude.
(ii) the entry of the players.
(iii) the king presided.
(iv) the time-beat keepers.
(v) the entry of the danseuse *Kañjalocanā*.
(vi) gesture actions : aṅgābhinaya, nṛtta, aṅgahāra, gatis and bhramarīs.
(vii) regional varieties of ballet, nṛtya-nāṭikās. pravṛttas of Bharata's classic text.
(viii) tāṇḍava.
(ix) hand-poses : hastābhinaya.
(x) other actions of the head, etc. Stylised patterns.
(xi) vācikābhinaya : singing of paeans to the deity. Cennakesvara of Macherla.
(xii) the accomplishment, siddhi, attained ; poetically it is described that even the celestials felt humiliated.
(xiii) the king, the Sabhāpati, is pleased.
(xiv) the awards.

The text, which is in Telugu, is translated, into English below :

Harp players held the vīṇas.
The strings were tuned up for the concert-singing.

They were pitched for the notations,
Ready for the crescendo and decrescendo,
For playing the several melodies and tunes,
Soft orchestral sounds were harmonised,
To exhibit the feelings and emotions.
Tuned were all the instruments to follow up the singer's voice.
Which when sung could even blossom the branches drought-ridden.
Musicians sang surpassingly in manner expert,
The players entered making obeisance,
To the king, Lord Kāma (Sabhāpati)
Who waved smilingly to commence the show.

The drummer, expert he was
Took his place to the right of the stage,
To the left moved the player keeping time-beats.
Then stood there, pleasingly, the player of the *mukha-vīṇā*
Two accompanying songstresses stood there at the rear.;
And this was, thus a wholesome sight.

Kañjalocanā, the prima donna, entered as the Queen of Cupid
majestically,
She had a sweet voice, expert in Bharata's Science,
Pierced herself on to the stage like an arrow shot,
She stood before the eager audience,
She approached the Master, who had a cane in hand—a mark of
authority,
Took the anklet bells from him.
She wore them tight and comfortably at the anklets.
Dressed she was in colourful costume, in her blossomy youth
Timing tuned to the beat of the drum,
She shyly glanced at the Lord presiding,
She stood in *samapada sthānaka* (firm-foot placement).
She prayed to the Gods and with flowers offered obeisance.
Then the chorus girls sang from behind.
The auditorium was filled with music agalore.
The troupe offered obeisance to the elite and the august audience,
Then commenced the movements nine of the *bhu-cāri* (ground
moves).
Then followed the sixteen *ākāśa cāri* (moves above ground).
In succession, the dance sequences, *aṅgahāras* were played covering several gaits in a variety.
Bhramara rounds were piroutted brightly.
Attitudes in cadences of hands and feet flowed out.
Dance varieties of Peraṇi Deśi, Preṅkhaṇa, Śuddha Daṇḍaka and
Kuṇḍalinī were played.

The seven species of vigorous Tāṇḍava were exhibited to the amazement and surprise of the onlookers of the assembly.
Two danseuses were stationed on either side ;
She posed the patterned single and double hands, communicating a variety of meanings, combined with the actions of the Head, Glances, Cheeks, Eyebrows, Teeth, Neck, Chin, Face and the Chest.
Six actions of the limbs, six of the sub-limbs and other subsidiary limbs were cogently practised to heighten the excellence of the dance play.
All this in praise of the presiding Deity Cennakesava of Macherla.
The peaens extolling the Graces of the Lord.
Composed in Telugu and Samskṛta, were sung and danced to rouse envy in the hearts of the Celestial Danseuses, Rambhā and others,
Who felt humiliated and hung down their heads in shame and chagrin.
The Lord and King felt over-joyed.
The personnel of the troupe were awarded presents, good clothing and precious ornaments.
(The king passed on to other engagements of the day.)

The inclusion of the description of a dance concert in a ballad poem is uniquely intriguing. The tenets and canons prescribed in Nāṭya texts have been given a literary status in their applied form. The ballad singers could give an audio-visual performance when reciting this folklore classic.

The Place of the Vedas in Vatsyayana's Nyayabhasya

By

T. K. GOPALASWAMY IYENGAR

VĀTSYĀYANA, also known as Pakṣilasvāmin, is the bhāṣya writer on the Nyāyasūtras of Gautama. He is supposed to have flourished in the fourth century A.D. In the opening section of his bhāṣya, he states that the Nyāyasūtras are the exposition of the science of ānvikṣikī,[1] which Kauṭilya acknowledges as one of the sciences provided for the good of the human beings. Vātsyāyaṇa quotes the very stanza of Kauṭilya to show that ānvīkṣiki[2] is the lamp of all sciences, the means of knowledge of all things and the basis of all activities. Though ānvīkṣiki as a science is found condemned in the Dharmaśāstras[3], Vātsyāyana cautiously asserts that the scope of his ānvikṣiki is confined to the categories deduced both by perception and āgama.[4] (Pratyakṣāgamābhyām īkśitasya anvīkṣaṇam). Vātsyāyana obviously clarifies as it were that he is inclined to establish independently the metaphysical truths by logic which are not antagonistic to the established Vedic tenets.[5] His purposeful introduction of āgama in the definition of *ānvīkṣikī* bears testimony to the above fact. The works on Nītiśāstra such as Kāmandakīnīti[6] and Śukranītisāraḥ[7] state that *ānvīkṣikī* is ātmavidyā. Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator on the Mahābhārata, states in the course of his commentary on the Rājyadharma section in the Śāntiparvan that Trayī means the Karma portion[8] and *ānvīkṣikī* the Jñāna portion of the Vedas. But Vātsyāyana makes it quite obvious here that the scope of his system is directed towards the examination of categories like saṁśaya (doubt) to help the realisation of Ātman. He specifically states 'Doubt and the rest form the subject dealt with by the science of ānvīkṣikī. Consequently if all the sciences are not distinctly enunciated it would appear that this science will appear to deal with the soul only like the Upaniṣads.'[9] So Vātsyāyana employs logic to arrive at the metaphysical truths independently and finally seeks confirmation for these tenets in the scriptures.

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[1] NS., 1.1.1. इमास्तु तिस्रः विद्याः पृथक् प्रस्थानाः प्राणभृतां अनुग्रहाय उपदिश्यन्ते यासां चतुर्थीयं आन्वीक्षिकी न्यायविद्या ॥

[2] NB., 1.1.1. प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्तिता ॥

But in the Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra the last line is found as 'Śasvat ānvīkṣikī matā'.

[3] Rāmāyaṇa 2-10-39.

[4] NB., 1.1.1.

[5] Manusmṛti, 12-206

आर्षं धर्मोपदेशं च वेदशास्त्राविरोधिना ।
यस्तर्केणानुसन्धत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः ॥

[6] Kāmandakīnītisāraḥ 2-7.

[7] Sukranīti 1-158.

The following instances in several sections can be cited to testify to Vātsyāyana's estimation of the scriptures.

1. Gautama categorically asserts the authenticity of the Vedas on the strength of the trustworthiness of the veracious expositors.[10] He defines that the trustworthy or āptas are those who have had direct perception of the real essence of things and who have extreme compassion on living beings.[11] In Bhāṣyakāra's opinion the eternity of the Vedas is interpreted to convey the uninterrupted succession in tradition, study and application in all ages and world cycles (manvantaras), past and future.[12] Vātsyāyana accepts the infallibility, supremacy and eternality of the scriptures different from the Mīmāmsakas. His logical conclusions are based on the practical experiments found true in the case of incantations (mantra) and medical scriptures.[13]

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[8] Mahābhārata 12-59-33 (vide commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha).

[9] NB., 1.1.1. तस्याः (आन्वीक्षिक्याः) पृथक् प्रस्थानाः संशयादयः पदार्थाः तेषां पृथग्वचनमन्तरेण अध्यात्मविद्यामात्रं इयं स्यात्। यथा उपनिषदः। तस्मात् संशयादिभिः पदार्थैः पृथक् प्रस्थाप्यते। In this connection it is relevant to quote the observations of Von Paul Hacker thus :—

'Vatsyāyana in the introduction to his Nyāyabhāṣya calls his own science ānvīkṣikī thus inserting it in Kauṭilya's series of four sciences. Why does he prefer this rājanyic series to the paurāṇic and pronouncedly by brahmanical one of 14 sciences. (cp. Kane. History of Dharmaśastra, Vol. II, p. 355). Perhaps he wished for some reason or other to recommend his system, by pretending that it was the ānvīkṣikī which others had before his time, sought in sāmkhya and other systems, as an auxiliary science to the scholars of rājadharma ... ... the incorporation of his science in this series would have entailed acknowledgement of aupanishadic ātmavidyā but he claimed for his system a special ātmavidyā independent of that of the upanishads' Weiner ZEITSCHRIFT FUR DIE KUNDE SUD UND OSTASEINS und ARCHIV FUR INDISCHE PHILOSOPHIE (Band II 1958 p. 82.)

[10] NS. 2.1.68.

[11] NB., 2.1.68. साक्षात्कृतधर्मता, भुतदया, यथाभूतार्थयिरुपापयिणाय इति—भूतानि अनुकंपन्ते।

[12] NB., 2.1.68.

[13] NS. 2.1.68.

2. (*a*) In the bhāṣya on the pramāṇasūtra (1.1.3) while discussing the scope of the pramāṇa restricted with mutually exclusive limits, Vātsyāyana cites 'agnihotram juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ' and concludes that the pramāṇa that can operate in this case is Āgama only and this can be proved by the words of the Vedas alone, for the ordinary man in the world cannot know of any indicative feature of heaven by means of which he can have an inferential cognition.[14] (laukikasya svarge na liṅgadarśanam na pratyakṣam).

   (b) Gautama divides verbal testimony into two, namely dṛṣṭa and adṛṣṭa.[15] Vātsyāyana admits in the second category, the Vedas as trustworthy assertions in respect of invisible things as heaven, etc.
3. In the initial description of Release (apavarga) in 1.1.22 Vātsyāyana holds that release can be in the form of absolute cessation of pain. He points out the doctrinal differences between the Vedantins and Gautama and construes the Vedic words in support of his view. He cites the very upaniṣadic terms like abhayam, ajaram, amṛtyupadam, Brahmakṣemaprāpti[16] to strengthen his view-point. In this connection Vācaspati treats the terms Brahman and equates it synonymously with ānandam and vijñānam on the basis of the upanisadic text 'vijñānam ānandam brahma'[17] to show that *Brahman* is of the nature of pleasure. The doctrinal differences due to different interpretations of the Vedic passages should not be taken to prove that Vātsyāyana is against the spirit of the Vedas, for even among the Vedantins we find different views even discarding the authenticity of certain sets of passages to uphold certain theorisations.
4. In the examination of the body in the third chapter, Gautama exhibits his keen inclination to cite the scriptures to corroborate his logical conclusions. It is stated in the sūtras III.1.30 to 34 that the body is composed of earth, water, fire, air and ether on several grounds and the fact is finally confirmed by citing scriptural authority. He unequivocally assesses the validity of the Śruti to verify his independent logical conclusions in the sūtra, Śrutiprāmāṇyācca.[18] The sūtra under question is an authority to testify Gautama's categorical assertion that Śruti is a valid authority in his system. Nowhere else he employs the word 'śrutiprāmāṇya' except in the present context. Vātsyāyana spares no time to cite the relevant śrutis to support the Pāñcabhautikatva (presence of five elements) in the physical body thus—'Sūryam te cakṣuḥ gacchatāt' ityatra mantre pṛthivīm te śarīram[19] iti śruyate, Sūryam te cakṣuḥ

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[14] NB., 1.1.3.
[15] NS., 1.1.8.
[16] NB., 1.1.22.
[17] NVTTika. 1.1.22.
[18] NS., 3.1.31.
[19] Ṛgveda 10.16.3.

spṛṇomi' ityatra mantrāntare' pṛthivīm te śarīram spṛṇomi[20] iti śruyate.' These citations from the Vedas evidence Vātsyāyana's keen interest to verify the independent logical conclusions in the scriptures.

(b) In the subsequent discussions regarding the sense-organs, Vātsyāyana criticises the views of the Sāmkhyās whose enumeration of the metaphysical categories are not warranted according to him, either by logic or by scriptures.[21]

(c) In the introduction to the sūtra 1.1.10, wherein the existence of self is to be established, Vātsyāyana says "the soul cannot be apprehended by pratyakṣa, it is to be known only by means of reliable assertion ? No. It can be cognised by means of inference also.[22] This instance will suffice to prove that Vātsyāyana proves the existence of the self by inference though scriptural evidence is adduced in confirmation.

5. The discussions regarding the soul and its destiny, transmigration, karma theory, etc., do bear evidence to the fact that Vātsyāyana surveys in his mind, the scriptural picture of the established metaphysical categories.[23] Under the sūtra 3.2.72, Vātsyāyana criticises the theory of the opponent that the formation of the body is not due to karma and that the accruing of pleasure and pain is due to karma, on the strength of pratyakṣabādha, anumānabādha and *āgamabādha.* He expatiates under āgamabādha, the glory of the Vedas and the Vedic seers who discovered the Truths and propagated them to the humanity. He asserts, "There are several scriptures disclosed by sages containing clear instructions in regard to the performance and avoidance of actions in accordance with one's caste and order of life (varṇāśrama vibhāgena). Both these kinds of action, good and bad (sucaritam and duścaritam) will be an impossibility to the opponent." Lastly he feels that the theory adduced by the opponent is wrong and that it is the theory of the sinners (pāpiṣṭhānām).[24] Vātsyāyana as a critic of the opponent's theory presents lastly the 'āgamabādha' as a categorical denial of the position of the opponent, besides his strong criticisms based on pratyakṣabādha and anumānabādha. This is a clear instance of Vātsyāyana's high regard for the Vedas to confirm his conclusions.
6. In the examination of God[25] as the cause of the Universe, Vātsyāyana's bhāṣya is of vital importance. He reiterates as it were the upanisadic account of God and his qualities. He enumerates God in the category

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[20] Śatapatha Brah., 11.8.4.6.

[21] NS., 1.1.14 ; 3.1.32 to 34 ; 3.2.1 to 9.

[22] NB., 1.1.10. तत्र आत्मा तावत् प्रत्यक्षतः न ज्ञायते । स किं आत्मोपदेशमात्रादेव प्रतिपाद्य इति । नेत्युच्यते । अनुमानाच्च प्रतिपत्तव्यः इति ।

[23] 3.1.26 to 28 ; 3.2.60 to 72.

[24] NB., 3.2.72 under āgamabādhācca.

[25] NS., 4.1.20 & 21.

of Soul on the analogy of the individual souls.[26] He is endowed with qualities.[27] He is endowed with such qualities as absence of demerit (adharma), false knowledge (mithyājñana) and negligence (pramāda) and the presence of merit (dharma), knowledge (jñāna) and samādhi (intuitiveness). He possesses eightfold power, consequent upon this possession of qualities like dharma and samādhi (tasya ca dharmasamādhiphalam animādi aṣṭavidham aiśvaryam). Further he disposes the merits and demerits (puṇya and pāpa) appertaining to each soul. He controls pṛthivī, etc., in their activities (pratyātmavṛttīn dharmādharmasañcayān pṛthivyādini ca pravartayati). He is the most trustworthy to all the created beings as a father to a son.[28] (āptakalpaścāyam)[29]

The above account of Vātsyāyana in respect of God's glory is fully significant and every syllable is an echo of the scriptures. The absence of demerits and presence of merits enunciated by Vātsyāyana will unfailingly recall to one's memory the determinative characteristics of Brahman apahatapāpmā, vijaraḥ, vimṛtyuḥ, viśokaḥ, vijighatsaḥ, apipāsaḥ, satyakāmaḥ and satyasaṅkalpaḥ, wherein we find both absence of bad qualities and presence of good qualities.[30] The citation that God is possessed of eightfold power is found embedded in the upanishadic terms satyakāmaḥ and satyasankalpaḥ. Vātsyāyana having concluded his account of God as envisaged in the sūtras of Gautama, finally seeks the confirmation of the tenets in the scriptures by declaring that He is the seer, the cogniser and all-knower.[31] Lastly, he cites the glory of the Lord, 'He is beyond the reach of ordinary perception, inference and words; how could He, the inexplicable, be described and proved by any one[32] ?"

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[26] NB., 4-1-21. न च आत्मकल्पात् अन्यः कल्पः संभवति ।

[27] ibid., गुणविशिष्टम् आत्मान्तरं ईश्वरः ।

[28] ibid., आप्तकल्पश्चायम् । यथा पिता अपत्यानां तथा पितृभूतः ईश्वरः भूतानाम् ।

[29] Dr. Radhakrishnan maintains the reading 'āptakarmaphala' and renders the compound in the sense 'He has obtained all the result of his deeds' (Indian Philosophy Vol. II, p. 169). The subsequent sentence which justifies God's āptatva to the living beings by the analogy of father and son is unintelligible if "āptakarmaphala" is admitted, The āptatva or trustworthy character of Īśvara is categorically asserted in this sūtra alone by the Bhāṣyakāra to correlate this with the sūtra 2-1-68 wherein the authority of the Vedas is established on āptaprāmāṇya. God's āptakarmaphalatva is established otherwise in the bhāṣya by the mention of God's glory in attaining eightfold power consequent upon the possession of the qualities of dharma and samādhi. Hence "āptakalpa" is the correct reading.

[30] Chandogyopanishad 8-7-1.

[31] Praśna up. 5-7, 4-9, Br. up 5.7-22.

[32] NB., 4-1-21. The word "nirupākhyam" as applied to Īśvara in this context appears that Vātsyāyana refutes an opponent who accepts 'nirguṇatva' or anirvacanī-

7. In the chapter on the examination of the Vedic authority, Gautama follows his own method of defending the Vedic authority, different from the Mīmāmsakas. Vātsyāyana puts forth opponents' view questioning the authority of the Vedas on the grounds of untruth (anṛta) contradiction (vyāgpāta) and tautology (punarukta).[33] Vedic passages are quoted in support of the opponent's view and they are answered by Vātsyāyana successfully.[34]

In the present context, Gautama expounds certain principles related to Vākya-śāstra.[35] It is not known whether the term Mīmāmsā was applied to the vākyaśāstra in his age. We find also different divisions of the Vedic sentences into vidhi (command), arthavāda (explanatory or declamatory) and anuvāda (reinculcation) unlike the Mīmāṁsaka's division. Anuvāda perhaps occupied a prominent place in the classification of sentence at the time of Gautama. Vātsyāyana, profusely cites the Vedic passages to strengthen his division of the vākyaśāstra and explains them as a profound Mīmāṁsaka.[36]

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yatva of Īśvara. Having established 'guṇaviśiṣṭam ātmāntaram Īśvaraḥ', glorifying Him as the āpta etc. in the beginning, Vātsyāyana' perhaps feels impatient to admit nirupākhya or nirguṇavāda advanced by some school of thought in his age. The tone of his question 'kaḥ śaktaḥ upapādayitum' indicates the illogical and incoherent aspect of the opponent's view of Nirguṇatva as an attribute of Īśvara.

[33] NB., 2-1-58 & 59. Vedic authorities are profusely quoted :

(a) 'पुत्रकामः पुत्रेष्ट्या यजेत', उदिते होतव्यम्, अनुदिते होतव्यम्, समयाध्युषिते होतव्यम् ।

(b) त्रि प्रथमामन्वाह त्रिरुत्तमाम् ॥ मन्त्राः न्यूनाधिकाः स्वरवर्णविहीना इति —'अग्निकामो दारुणीमश्नीयात्' इति

[34] NB., 2-1-61. तथा च मन्त्रभिवादः—'इदमहं भ्रातृव्यं पञ्चदशवारेण वाग्वज्रेण बाधे, योऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि यं च वयं द्विष्मः ।'

NB., 2-1-65.

सर्वजितो वै देवाः सर्वमजयन् सर्वस्याप्त्यै सर्वस्य जित्यै सर्वमेव तेनाप्नोति सर्वं जयति

स एष वाव प्रथमोयज्ञः, यज्ञानां यत् ज्योतिष्टोमः य एतेन अनिष्ट्वा अन्येन यजते, गर्तं पतति अयमेवैतज्जीर्यते वा प्रमीयते इत्येवमादि

"हुत्वा वपामेवाग्रेऽभिधारयन्ति, अथ पृषदाज्यम्, तदुह चरकाध्वर्यवः पृषदाज्यमेवाग्रेऽभिघारयन्ति, अग्नेः प्राणाः पृषदाज्यमेवमभिदधति"

"तस्माद्वा एतेन ब्राह्मणा बहिष्पवमानंसामस्तोममस्तौषन् योने यज्ञं प्रतनवामहे"

(Sources are not known)

[35] NS., 2.1.62 ; NB., 2-1-63 (विभागश्च ब्राह्मण वाक्यानां त्रिविधः)

[36] Vide my contribution 'Pre-Nyāya school of Mīmāmsā' read at the All India Philosophical Congress, held at Madras in 1964. This paper is communicated and

8. The examination of the Apavarga section is conspicuous. Vātsyāyana plays a vital rôle as a great Vedic scholar endowed with profound knowledge of Mīmāmsā-śāstras. His interpretative skill in rendering the Vedic passage intelligible and connoting the intention of the Vedic seers is highly commendable. In this part of his bhāṣya, he freely indulges in the interpretation of the Vedic sentences and singles out himself as an expert exponent of the Vedic tenets.

Vātsyāyana advances the opponent's view that release[37] is an impossibility to any one owing to the concatenation of the three debts continuing till one's life. He cites the Vedic passage from Satapatha-brāhmaṇa to support this view. A brahmin as he is born in encumbered with three debts, by celibacy and study, he repays the debt to the ṛṣis, by performing sacrifice to the deities and by begetting progeny to the pitṛs (jāyamāno ha vai brāhmaṇaḥ tribhiḥ ṛṇavān jāyate brahmacaryeṇa ṛṣibhyaḥ, yajñena devebhyaḥ prajayā pitṛbhyaḥ[38]). Again Bhāsyakāra cites another Vedic passage to strengthen the view of the opponent that the duties enjoined in the scriptures are to be carried on until old age or death.[39] (Jarāmaryam vā etatsatram, yadagnihotram, darsapūrṇamāsau, ca iti jarayā ha eṣaḥ tasmāt satrāt vimucyate mṛtunāha vā iti) combining the ideas of both the Vedic passages, Vātsyāyana advances the impossibility of release owing to the individual's life-long encumbrances and lack of freedom from obligations to find time in pursuit of release.[40]

Vātsyāyana's reply is indicative of his strict discipline in the science of interpretation of the Vedic passages. He interprets the words ṛṇa and jāyamāna in their secondary sense to suit the context, reason and cannons of grammar. The condition of debt in its primary sense is not present in the present context since debt and repayment are mutual. Consequently figurative sense is a necessity in order to convey both condemnation (nindā) and commendation (praśaṁsā).[41] Like a debtor who does not repay his debts, a person who does not perform sacrificial duties, deserves condemnation. Like a debtor who repays his debts promptly one who discharges the religious duties deserves commendation.

Again Vātsyāyana holds that the term Jāyamānaḥ (being born) cannot primarily apply to an infant born from the womb of the mother inasmuch as he has neither the desire for the fruits of the sacrificial

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[37] NS., 4-1-59.

[38] Satapatha Brah. 1-7-2-1.

[39] Source not known.

[40] NB., 4-1-59. ऋणानुबन्धात् अनुष्ठानकालः नास्तीति अपवर्गाभावः ।

acts nor has he the capacity to perform them.[41] (b) He again dilates upon the significance of the term 'jarayā' (old age) and successfully interprets it to signify the fourth stage of life.[42] If on the other hand the word 'jarayā' is to be treated in the primary sense, there is no point in saying that a person actually becomes freed from all obligations if he becomes old or dies.[43]

Having thus explained the contextual meaning of the leading terms, Vātsyāyana proceeds to establish the stage of renunciation on the authority of the Vedic passages. That the conduct of the fourth order of life is a necessity is evidenced by the upanisadic passages,[44] quoted copiously by Vātsyāyana.

Lastly he asserts the authoritative character of not only the Vedas but also the Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras and openly declares that everyone of them must be regarded as an authoritative text in regard to the treatment of the subject.[45]

Thus it can be safely conceded in the light of the above observations that Vātsyāyana holds the Vedas as the highest authority and confirms his logical conclusions by citing scriptural authority to justify his system of logico-metaphysics.

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[41] NS., 4-1-60. प्रधान शब्दानुपपत्तेः गुणशब्देन अनुवादः निन्दाप्रशंसोपपत्तेः ।

NB., 4-1-60. जायमान इति गुणशब्दः, विपर्यये अनधिकारात् मातृतो जायमानस्य अनधिकारात् । मातृतो जायमाने कुमारे, उभयं अर्थिता, शक्तिश्य न भवतीति ।

[42] ibid., तत्र हि प्रव्रज्या विधीयते ।

[43] ibid., अत्यन्तजरासंयोगे 'जरया हवा' इत्यनर्थकम् ।

[44] ibid., quotations from Vājasaneya samhitā 31-1-8 ; Taittiriya Āraṇyaka 3-12-7 ; Chand. Up. 2-23-1 ; Bṛhat. Up. 4-4-22 ; Bṛhat. Up. 4.4.5 & 6 ; Samhitā. 5-7-23.

(b)., 4-1-61 प्राजापत्यं इष्टिं निरूप्य तस्यां सर्ववेदसं हुत्वा आत्मनि अग्नीन् समारोप्य, ब्राह्मणः प्रव्रजेत् । (Source not known)

Bṛhat. Up. 4-5. Yājñavalkya-Maitreyī conversation is extracted to establish the stage of a renunciate.

(c) NB., 4-1-62. The sutra is indicative of Vātsyāyana's efficiency in solving the complicated Vedic passages and thereby enunciating a principle or nyāya as a mīmāmsaka. In this connection he quotes Bṛhat. Up. 3-5-1.

[45] NB., 4-1-62. The authority of itihāsa, purāṇa and dharmasastra is proved. Chand. Up. 3-4-2.

(a) प्रमाणेन खलु ब्राह्मणेन इतिहासपुराणस्य, प्रामाण्यमभ्यनुज्ञायते ।

(b) अप्रामाण्याच्च धर्मशास्त्रस्य, प्राणभृतां व्यवहारलोपात् लोकोच्छेदप्रसङ्गः ।

Chaopha Su-hum-mung, the Assamese Napoleon

By

N. N. ACHARYYA

Su-hum-mung was one of the greatest kings of medieval India. He ruled Assam from A.D. 1497 to 1539. He had a passion for conquest. From the very beginning he was fired by the time-honoured ideal of a Kshatriya king, which was to make himself the sovereign of the entire country up to its very ends and give him the position of a king of kings. In pursuit of this orthodox ideal set for a ruler, Su-hum-mung made out an elaborate programme of conquests in different directions (Digvijaya) and realised it to a degree which has justly won him the title of an Assamese Napoleon.

By his thorough-going conquests in different directions recalling the military idealism of Sukapha the great, he first won for himself the status of an Emperor and recovered for the country the unity of its history, which was lost in local annals. Su-hum-mung's wars were, however, not those of unmotivated aggression, but wars of vengeance. The political condition of Assam was at the end of A.D. fifteenth century one of unstable equilibrium. The break-up of the Kamata Empire led to the rise of many petty states whose mutual dissensions invited the powerful Turko-Afghans of Bengal to renew their invasions in the east. The situation called for a sovereign who could act up to the time-honoured Kshatriya ideal of bringing the entire country under the umbrella of one authority.

Su-hum-mung was the most powerful of the Dihingia kings and he established a new town at Chargua on the river Dihing with great ceremonials and festivities. On this occasion he minted coins. He also built an embankment along the river to prevent the havoc of flood during the rainy season. On account of this construction he was called "Dihingia Raja". His early name was Chao-sukang. At the time of his accession to the throne, he took the Ahom title Su-hum-mung, which means a king of a vast kingdom. He had six sons. The eldest, Prince Suk-len-mung, was made the viceroy of Tipam, the second son, Su-leng, was made the 'Charing Raja', the third son, Su-teng, was given the governorship of Namrup, the fourth was given the viceroyalty of Dihing, the fifth was in charge of Tungkhang, and the youngest prince, Su-khreng, was kept in the capital

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[1] G. C. Barua, Ahom Buranji, p. 98.

without being given any office[2]. The influence of Hinduism upon the Ahoms became more evident when this king assumed the title 'Svarga Narayan' and introduced the Saka era to be used for all official purposes.[3]

In A.D. 1504, the Aītania Nagas revolted against Ahom suzerainty. Su-hum-mung sent Nangranga Bargohain and Khampeng Buragohain with a big army against the rebels, who were subdued. As a result the salt springs at Longpong was captured by the Ahoms. The Naga chief gave his daughter in marriage to Su-hum-mung who in return appointed a Naga chief, Senlung Kanseng as Barpatragohain, a new post equal in status and dignity to those of Bargohain and Buragohain.[4] In A.D. 1498, Kamatapur having been attacked by Husain Shah, the ruler of Bengal, the local Bhuyans invoked the aid of Su-hum-mung to drive away the Muslims. Su-hum-mung's military operations proved successful in putting an end to the Muslim regime implanted at Kamata. In A.D. 1505, Su-hum-mung received the Bhuyans with high honour in his court, and thus established cultural intercourse which continued from now onwards on a permanent basis[5].

In A.D. 1510, Su-hum-mung took a census of his kingdom. In A.D. 1512, the king himself marched with an army to Panbari through Habung and annexed the whole region to the Ahom kingdom.[6] In A.D. 1513, war broke out with the Chutias of Sadiya. This Ahom-Chutia hostility continued for long ten years during which a large number of soldiers on both sides were killed. In A.D. 1523, the Chutias were completely routed. As a result the Chutia country was annexed to the kingdom of Su-hum-mung. A new post, 'Sadiya-khowa-Gohain' was created to administer it and the first appointment was given to one Phrasen-mung. In order to implant the Ahom flag permanently on the Chutia soil, Su-hum-mung ordered the emigration of three hundred Ahom families to the newly conquered territory. A contingent of three thousand soldiers was mobilised there under the command of the Gohain for future emergencies. The Chutia royal family and the Chutia nobles were deported to Pakarguri, while a number of Brahmans and members of the artisan class were taken from the Chutia territory to the Ahom capital. Having accomplished all these enterprises, Su-hum-mung returned to the capital and performed the Rikkhvan ceremony for obtaining long life.[7]

In A.D. 1524, Phuklai-mung (Sam-Lung-Pan-maing), the Nara King of Mungkan or Mogaung, invaded the Ahom territory. Su-hum-mung sent three of his generals with a garrison of a thousand infantry and himself followed closely behind them. At a place called Rurum, a short engagement took place in which the invaders were utterly defeated. A treaty was concluded in which the Nara king gave his sister, Nangkhandeng, to Su-hum-mung in marriage. Two horses were sent along with the bride. After a while, Su-hum-mung also sent an Assamese girl, Nangkhampai by name, to the Nara king along with an elephant and furniture as a token of mutual good relations. In A.D. 1526, Su-hum-mung promoted Mungtao, a Miri soldier, perhaps for his efficiency and loyalty. Another noble Mungklang was appointed as Bargohain and posted at Dihing. Three other soldiers also received promotion from Su-hum-mung. A chief of the royal blood was posted at Tungkhang as Gohain.[8]

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[2] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, p. 15.
[3] K. N. Tamuli-phukan, Assam Buranji, p. 19.
[4] N. N. Acharyya, The History of Medieval Assam, pp. 111-112.
[5] K. N. Tamuliphukan, Assam Buranji, p. 20.
[6] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, p. 15.
[7] G. C. Barua, Ahom Buranji, pp. 57-58.

In December, A.D. 1526, Su-hum-mung along with one of his sons, marched against the Kacharis and ascended the river Dhansiri to Barduar, where some constructions were made to receive reinforcements. Next the king ordered a fort with brick-walls to be built at Marangi. Then Su-hum-mung led an army to Dergaon to join his naval reinforcements. An engagement took place there with the Kacharis, in which a contingent of Ahoms consisting of forty soldiers along with their leader, were killed. The Kacharis advanced up to the village Agarkatia. Three Ahom generals marched with their divisions to check the advance of the Kacharis, who were routed with considerable casualties. Next the Kacharis attempted another engagement on the fort at Marangi, but with crushing defeat. One thousand and seven hundred Kachari soldiers were killed in the field of battle while their commander escaped on horse-back.[9]

In February, A.D. 1527, a fresh rebellion took place in the Chutia country. Mungklang, the Dihingia Bargohain was despatched to reinforce Frasengmung. Ultimately the rebellion was suppressed, but the Dihingia Gohain lost his life at the hands of the rebels. Next Thaomung Bangen was appointed an additional Sadiya-khowa-Gohain and his jurisdiction was extended from Kangkham to the source of the Lohit. Suleng, the second son of the king, was posted as viceroy over the Dibru region. Kanseng was honoured with a new title 'Tao Senglung'.[10]

Su-hum-mung hardly could have finished his diplomatic measures of transferring and appointing important officials on the eastern frontier when his attention was drawn towards the west. In the same year, A.D. 1527, the first Muhammadan invasion mentioned in the Ahom Buranji took place. The name of the Muhammadan general is not known, but he is mentioned as 'Bara Ujir' (Chief Minister or Commander-in-Chief). This invasion seems to have been a naval raid accompanied by efficient cavalry. Near the river Burai, an engagement between the Ahoms and the

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[8] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, pp. 18-19.

[9] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, pp. 19-20.

[10] G. C. Barua, Ahom Buranji, pp. 60-61.

Muhammadans occurred, in which the latter had to retreat after a heavy defeat. Forty horses and twenty cannon were captured by the Ahom soldiers. Su-hum-mung, in expectation of further raids of this kind, took some pre-cautionary measures. He himself stopped at Sala and despatched a battallion to take possession of Duimunisila. A fort was erected on the bank of the Burai river and a garrison was mobilised at Phulbari.[11] This is the earliest reference in the Buranjis to cannon. From this time they are often mentioned, and it appears therefore that their use quickly spread among the Ahoms.

In December, A.D. 1529, there were again signs of a rising in the Chutia country. This time the policy of moderation to pacify the rebels by peaceful means gave good results. It appears from the Buranjis that Phrasengmung, the Gohain himself, was connected with the plot. Ultimately he was produced before Su-hum-mung who pardoned the Gohain on account of his previous service, and was transferred to another post of the administration.[12]

In A.D. 1531, the Ahom fort at Marangi was reconstructed. Khunkara, the Kachari king, took the news of this very seriously and despatched an army under the leadership of his brother, Detcha or Neccha, who was killed by the Ahoms in the battlefield. The Ahoms followed the retreating Kacharis and killed a large number of them. Su-hum-mung himself proceeded up the Dhansiri with a large army and encamped at the junction of the river Dayang. A night attack was made on a nearby Kachari town (Hika). Then the Ahom soldiers arrived at Dengnut and two divisions of them were sent through both the banks of the Dhansiri. An engagement took place on the river bank in which the Kacharis were defeated and driven to their capital at Dimapur. The Kachari king Khunkara and his brother fled to Mantara (Burma). A Kachari prince, Detsung by name, was enthroned in the Kachari kingdom as a vassal king. The new king presented his sister in marriage to one of the Ahom princes with numerous gifts and presents.[13]

As soon as the Kachari struggles were successfully handled, the second phase of the Muhammadan hostilities ensued. One Luput advanced up the Brahmaputra with fifty vessels. An engagement took place at Temeni in which the Muslims were defeated, their Commander having escaped on horse-back. The Ahoms reconstructed their forts at Kongaripara and Sala on the river Bharali. The fort at Kongaripara under the command of Senlung Barpatra Gohain was next attacked by the Muslims, who were led at that time by a new general Bit Malik. This time also the Muslims, met with disastrous defeat, their general met his death on the battle-field.

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[11] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, pp. 21-22.

[12] G. C. Barua, Ahom Buranji, pp. 62-64.

[13] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, pp. 24-26.

Fifty horses and many cannon and guns of the Muslim soldiers were captured by the Ahoms. Su-hum-mung then rewarded the Ahom soldiers according to their service in the last battle. Early in A.D. 1532, a new fort was erected at Temeni under the supervision of Senlung.[14]

In April, A.D. 1532, a Muslim commander, Turbak, encroached upon the Ahom territory with one thousand horses, thirty elephants, many guns and cannon and their weapons. They encamped at Singari opposite to the Ahom fort on the bank of the Brahmaputra. Su-hum-mung sent Suk-len-mung with a large army to Singari and himself advanced to Sala. Suk-len-mung became impatient and without enforcing the rear strongly, crossed the Brahmaputra and gave a vigorous battle to the enemies. On this occasion fortune forsook the Ahom general. With an innumerable number of the Ahom infantry, eight of their commanders were killed in battle. Suk-len-mung himself made a hair-breadth escape with a severe wound. The Ahoms then retreated to Sala, where reinforcements were received and Sen-lung was made the Commander-in-chief. The Muslims made an advance to Kaliabar.[15]

On the assumption that the last Ahom defeat was mainly due to their weakness in naval power, Su-hum-mung ordered a strong navy to be prepared. Seven hundred ships were made ready for operation by the Ahoms. This time the Kachari army also joined the Ahoms. In March, A.D. 1533, there took place a naval engagement between the Ahoms and the Muslims near Duimunisila, in which the latter were defeated. The Muslim commanders, Jain and Sangal, were killed, together with a large number of ordinary soldiers. Two thousand and five hundred men of the invaders lost their lives in Assam. They also lost twenty ships and a number of big guns.[16]

In the meantime, Husain Khan, another Muslim general, came to reinforce Turbak with six elephants, one hundred horses and one thousand infantry. He mobilised his forces at the mouth of Dikrai river, while the Ahom army was garrisoned on the opposite side. The Ahom army under the leadership of Sen-lung defeated the Muslim invaders in a battle near the Bharali river. Turbak and Husain Khan met their death in the field of battle, when the Muslim soldiers began to retreat. Twenty thousand Ahom soldiers followed closely on the fugitives as far as the river Karatoya in North Bengal. Twenty-eight elephants, eight hundred and fifty horses, a great number of cannon and matchlocks together with other booty were captured by the Ahoms. The Ahom soldiers lived for a period of six months on the bank of the river Karatoya, constructed a temple and excavated a tank on the point of their last advance with a view to perpetuating the memory of their victory. A pillar of stone with an inscription was also erected there by the Ahoms. The inscription was "One who will occupy this country without battle will send his fore-fathers to the hell, he will be broom-beaten by a Hari (sweeper), and he will wear mekhela of women".[17] During this expedition, the Ahom soldiers constructed a road from Gauhati to the river Karatoya. At this time, Su-hum-mung sent messengers to Vikrama Sen, king of Orissa, and established friendly relations with him. Su-hum-mung also excavated a tank at Puri with the consent of the king of Orissa. Evidently Su-hum-mung appears to have reinforced himself against the Muslim ruler of Bengal through his contact with the powerful Hindu king of Orissa.[17a]

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[14] G. C. Barua, Ahom Buranji, pp. 66-68.

[15] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, pp. 26-27.

[16] G. C. Barua, Ahom Buranji, pp. 69-70.

In A.D. 1536, Detsung, the Kachari king, showed sings of hostilities. A large army was despatched up to Marangi. The Ahoms defeated the Kacharis in a number of battles and at last reached Dimapur, capital of the Kachari kingdom. The king Detsung and his family were captured. A gold umbrella, a silver umbrella, a gold sofa, a silver sofa, and a considerable quantity of gold and silver were collected by the Ahoms. Su-hum-mung annexed the whole Dhansiri valley along with the Kachari possessions up to the Kalang river in the Nowgong district.[18] In December, A.D. 1537, Visvasingha, the Koch king, along with his brother, Sivasingha, came to the Ahom court and offered valuable presents to Su-hum-mung. In the same year, there was exchange of envoys and gifts between the king of Manipur and the Ahom king. Su-hum-mung left an extensive kingdom at the time of his death in A.D. 1539.[19]

The reign of Su-hum-mung was one of the most eventful and important periods of the history of Assam. During this time the Ahom supremacy was extended to all directions. The Chutias were subdued for good and their country was annexed to the Ahom kingdom. Su-hum-mung showed another mark of genius by his thoughtful measures of transfer of population of the Ahoms and the Chutias between their countries. Great credit lay in his selection of a Naga chief as the Barpatra Gohain, one of the highest dignitaries of the Ahom administration. He also deserved appreciation for his moderate and mild policy in handling the Naga affairs. The influence of the Kacharis over the Dhansiri valley was checked by him for ever, and he created in the Kachari capital the posts of 'Sadiya-khowa-Gohain' and 'Marangi-khowa-Gohain' to administer Chutia country and the Dhansiri valley respectively, the posts which were to continue up to the end of the Ahom rule. To add to his achievements, it was in the reign of Su-hum-mung that three Muhammadan invasions were successfully resisted and defeated. One Nara campaign was faced victoriously. The powerful

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[17] S. K. Bhuyan, Satsari Asam Buranji, pp. 16-17.

[17a] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, pp. 28-32.

[18] G. C. Barua, Ahom Buranji, pp. 73-74.

[19] S. K. Bhuyan, Deodhai Assam Buranji, p. 35.

Koches under Visvasingha acknowledged the Ahom supremacy. There was an epoch making change in the social history of the country at this time. The people were divided into clans and artisans were imported from the Chutia country and elsewhere. The Saka era was introduced for the first time to replace the system of calculating the dates by the Jovian cycle of sixty years. From the strategic point of view, this reign was also very important. Under Su-hum-mung, the Ahoms became the most powerful nation of the whole of eastern India. The Ahoms under Su-hum-mung could claim victory in all their engagements. In the religious history of the country, this reign had an equal importance. Apart from the increasing influence of Brahmanism, it witnessed the spread of the Vaisnava reformation founded by Sankaradeva. Economically this reign may be considered as the beginning of a new regime—in which increasing wealth and prosperity were bestowed on the ordinary people. A census of the country was taken to improve the efficiency of the administration. The reign of Su-hum-mung thus can be considered as the climacteric of the Ahom age.[20]

Both as a ruler and as a man, Su-hum-mung occupies a distinguished place in the history of India. A born leader of men, he extended Ahom kingdom, by dint of his unusual bravery and diplomacy, from a small kingdom to an Empire and became an irresistible enemy of the mighty Afghans of Bengal, then at the zenith of their power. The most brilliant of his achievements was his diplomatic marriages with the powerful Kacharis, Nagas and the Naras of Mungkang. A born ruler of men, Su-hum-mung was entitled to fame chiefly for his success in effecting the marvellous transformation of the warring Ahom kingdom into a compact national monarchy, although his ideal of re-establishing Hindu Empire over Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa could not be realised owing to the intervention of the powerful Turko-Afghan rulers of Bengal. Though a great conqueror, Su-hum-mung was not stern by nature, but, on the other hand, showed kindness and consideration towards his fallen foes. Undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose and ceaseless activity, were some of his prominent qualities. His military campaigns give sufficient proof of his unusual courage and the manner in which he baffled the intrigues of his enemies shows him to have been a past master of diplomacy and statecraft. A great builder of forts, cities, tanks, temples and embankments, Su-hum-mung possessed high ideals and indefatigable industry. A man of indomitable spirit and remarkable military prowess, he was no ruthless conqueror exulting in needless massacres and wanton destruction. An affectionate father, a kind master, a generous friend, and firm believer in God, Su-hum-mung was an ardent lover of nature and truth and excelled in constructive arts and economic innovations.

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[20] E. A. Gait, A History of Assam, pp. 98-99.

Kabir's Concept of Bhakti

By

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Kabir's concept of Bhakti is a gradual growth and outcome of his own personal realization of Divine reality and its uniqueness and originality lies mainly in the fact that it does not accept any of the old Indian Scriptures as its guiding factor. Indian concept of Bhakti has developed, from cultural and historical points of view, mainly in two ways. One follows straightly the path shown by traditional standards laid down in the Shastras and is popularly known as 'Śrutisammata bhaktipatha' advocated by Bhakta poets like Goswami Tulsidas. The other one does not believe in any such prescribed formulæ and goes by the experiences and realizations of individual Saints on personal level. No particular name has been given to their school of Bhakti. We may call this path as *svacchanda bhakti-path.*

So far as Kabir is concerned, his concept definitely belongs to the latter category. There is another classification comparatively more prevalent, which speaks of two main schools of Bhakti viz.—(1) Nirguna Bhakti and (2) Saguna Bhakti and Kabir is said to be belonging to the Nirguna Bhakti School. His declared conviction against idol worship of various deities and his lack of faith in human incarnations of God go a long way to let us believe that he practised Nirguna Bhakti and that he condemned the idea of Saguna Bhakti. But this inference, however convenient and imposing it may appear, does not at all indicate a proper and balanced probe into the basic foundations and deep-rooted elements of Kabir's concept of Bhakti. Kabir's own remarks give altogether a different picture of the whole view. When he declares—

सगुण की सेवा करो निर्गुण का करु ज्ञान।
सगुण निर्गुण ते परे तहां हमारा ध्यान।

"Saguna Brahma is an object of service, and Nirguna an object of knowledge, the ultimate goal, the supreme Brahma, being beyond the limits of Saguna and Nirguna." Thus Kabir's Bhakti is neither Nirguna nor Saguna, it will be more appropriate to call his Bhakti as Bhakti of Paratpar (*parātpara*) which accomodates both the Saguna and Nirguna concepts of Brahma in terms of service and knowledge respectively.

As regards the basic sources of the Kabir's concept of Bhakti they may be classified under four heads viz.

1. Vaishnava Bhakti of Alwars
2. Vaishnava Bhakti of Bengal
3. Nirguna Bhakti of Maharashtra
4. The Pauranic traditions

An authentic reference to the first one is available in the famous couplet of Kabir known as

भगती द्राविड़ ऊपजी लाये रामानन्द
परगट करी कबीर ने सप्तदीप नव खण्ड

i.e. Bhakti originated in Dravid Desh, was brought to Northern India by Ramanand and Kabir practised and propagated the same all around the world. Here Kabir evidently refers to Alwar Bhaktas of Tamilnad known for their deep devotional sentiment as well as for their ideas of equality regarding castes and creeds. It may also be not out of point to mention here that most of these Alwar saints came from low-caste families and commanded respect mainly because of their superiority on high spiritual planes.

Direct references to the Vaishnava Bhakti of Bengal are not available in detail in the works of Kabir but the very fact that he mentions the name of Vaishnava poets of Bengal like Jaydeva with high esteem is an ample evidence to show that his idea of devotion owes a good deal to the said source.

The Nirguna Bhakti of Maharashtra had also inspired Kabir to a great extent as is evident from his complimentary references to the well known Saint poet of Maharashtra, Namdeva who flourished in 14th century A.D. Occurrence of the term *biṭṭhala* the deity of Namdeo in the Padas of Kabir is sufficient proof to show the intensity of the influence of Maharashtra Bhakti on his devotional thought. The Pauranic traditions of Bhakti are not predominant in Kabir who is rather known to be always throwing a challenge to the authority of Vedas and Puranas and who always refers to his own realization as authority. But at the same time, he does not at all disassociate himself from the link of renowned personalities mentioned as ideal Bhaktas in Puranas. Kabir often refers to Shankar, Sanak, Sanandan, Sukdeo, Udhav, Akrur, Hanuman and Narad as those who had really tasted the bliss of Bhakti.* Kabir goes so far as to

* सनक सनदंन जैदेव नामा। भगति करी···(कवीरग्रंथावली, पद ३३)
ब्रह्मा वरुण नामदेव जयदेव दासा। इनही रेवबर कहत नहीं कोई किघर कियो है वासा। जागे सुक उधव अक्रूर, हणवंत जागे लै लंगूर।
संकर जागे चरन सेव, कलि जागे तामा जैदेव। (कवीरग्रंथावली, पद ३८७)

declare in equivocal terms that he physically drowned in the flow of Bhakti which was possessed by Narad. He has called his Bhakti as Nardi Bhakti—**भगति नारदी मगन सरीरा ।** (कवीरग्रन्थावली, पद, २७८) This reference to Naradi Bhakti is a clear evidence to the fact that Kabir's concept of Bhakti owes a great deal to the Pauranic traditions of Bhakti. Narad, the well known author of Bhakti Sutra commands deep respect of Kabir and this clearly brings Kabir in the long line of Saints & Bhaktas recognised in the Puranas.

This may also be useful to mention here that Nathas, Bauddhas, Siddhas, and Sufi Saints whose direct and indirect influence is traceable in the thought of Kabir, cannot be said to have inspired his concept of Bhakti. This is one aspect of Kabir's personality and achievement which draws its sources directly or indirectly from the age-long traditions of devotion of Hindu Shastras & Hindu Folklore. The element of Bhakti was almost absent in Nathas and Siddhas and is partially present in Sufi Saints in their deep-rooted divine love known as *īśk hakīkī*. Although the deep expressions & songs of sorrow emanating from the feeling of separation from the Divine found in Kabir appear and are said to have been influenced by Sufi Saints and this approach may be applied to Kabir's philosophy of Divine love. But as regards his concept and aspect of Bhakti, I have not attached much importance to this Sufi influence partly because the very term Bhakti has never been widely recognised by Sufi Saints for reasons best known to them and partly because of the fact that all the basic foundations of Kabir's Bhakti more clearly and authentically are traceable in the Vaishnavite and other prevalent schools of Bhakti as indicated above. Moreover this approach is strongly supported by Kabir's own statements, few but authentically presented. The dominating influence of Ramanand on Kabir also goes a long way to bear testimony to the fact that Kabir's concept of Bhakti was a growth of Vaishnava idea of devotion combined with several other prevalent trends of the age.

Kabir's Bhakti has been called Nirguna Bhakti which does not actually mean denial of Saguna but mainly indicates his growing tendency to surrender himself to one who is above and beyond all temporal forms and qualities, although an infinite source of Light, Bliss and hence adorable and lovable. His repeated references to Nirguna Ram also contain this very idea behind them. To distinguish this concept of Bhakti from the concept of Saguna Bhakti of Bhaktas like Tulsidas, it will be more appropriate to say that Kabir has refused to recognise the adoration of Avtars or God incarnate in mortal—human forms and has declared his firm faith in devotion to one Supreme whose infinity can never be properly conceived in limitations of human forms. He has unhesitatingly addressed his supreme lord by all such names of Avtars but always giving an infinitely broader meanings to them. When Kabir says—

दसरथ सुत तिहुं लोक बखाना ।
राम नाम का मरम है आना ॥

he points out to this very mystery or *marm.* It is in this very spirit that he goes on using not only terms like *rām, govind, viṭṭhal, nārāyaṇ, hari,* so prevalent among Pauranik traditions but goes so far as to accept terms like *raghunāth* which should have no place in his terminology at all and could have been easily avoided. Kabir's *nirguṇa bhakt*i actually aims at realizations of supreme Being, admitting all forms in infinity but at the same time beyond all forms. It is in this spirit that he declares

चतुर्भुजा के ध्यान में ब्रजवासी सब सन्त ।
कबीर मगन वा रूप में जाके भुजा अनन्त ॥

The intensity of aesthetic emotion with which he depicts the blissful visions and experiences of his contacts with the Divine do go to establish the fact that Kabir's concept of Bhakti admits, on all devotional levels, the feeling of Blissful presence of the Divine not only as impersonal God but also as a Personal Being residing ever within, emerging according to the invocation of the soul. A few lines from Kabir's own sayings will bear testimony to the said view:

नैना अंतरि आचंरूं, निसदिन निरषौं तोहि
कब हरि दरसन देहुगे सो दिन आवै मोहि ।
(कबीरग्रंथावली, साखी ३।३३)

कबीर तेज अनंत का मानौ ऊगी सरज सेणि ।
पति संग जागी सुंदरी कौतिग दीठी तेणि ।
(कबीरग्रंथावली, साखी ५।१)

मन के मोहन बीठुला यहु मन लागौं तोहि रे ।
चरन कंवल मन मानिया और न मानै मोहि रे :
(कबीरग्रंथावली, पद ४)

तू माया रघुनाथ की खेलण चलो अहेड़ै ।
(वही, पद १८७)

मेरी जिम्या विस्न नैन नाराइन हिरदै जपौं गोविंदा ।
(वही, पद २५०)

इहि विधि सेविये श्रीनरहरी ।

Look at Kabir's way of giving wider meanings to the names :—

विशन सोई जाको विस्तार, सोई विस्न जिनि कियौ संसार।
गोविन्द ते ब्रह्मंडहि गहै, सोई राम जे जुगि जुगि रहै।
अपरंपार का नाऊं अनंत, कहै कबीर सोई भगवंत।

(कवीरग्रंथावली, पद ३२७)

दास कबी—भजु सारंगपान, देहु अभै पद मागौं दान।

(बही, पद ३४०)

भजि गोव्यदं मूलि जिनि जाहु
मनिसा जनम को एहि लाहु। (वही, पद ३४८)

हद छांड़ि बेहद गया, हुवा निरन्तर बाँस।
कवँल ज फूल्या फूल विनु को निरषै निज दास।

(कवीरग्रंथावली, साखी ५।५)

पिंजर प्रेम प्रकासिया, जाग्या जौग अनंत।
संसा खूटा सुख मया, मित्या पियारा कंत। (वही, ५।१३)

Kabir's Bhakti is widely known as *advaita bhakti* apparently a paradoxical usage, which contains the idea that Kabir's *bhakti* aimed at perfect identity of Bhakta with the Divine. Kabir did not believe in *bhad bhagati* where the devotee relishes the idea of his being a separate entity so as to be able to enjoy in full the bliss of Divine Play (Lila) which is possible practically only when there are at least two to participate. A problem naturally arises and has often been posed whether it is possible to maintain *bhakti* towards *advaita* which is, traditionally an object of *jñāna, abheda jñāna* and *bhedabhakti* are the two terms often applied by the saints and Bhaktas to express respectively the idea of identity with the Divine through knowledge and meeting the Divine through devotion. As regards Kabir's viewpoint, his thought is deeply influenced by the Advaitvad of Shankaracharya which aims at perfect identity with the Divine through perfect knowledge (*jñāna*) which requires complete annihilation of egoistic self i.e. *aḥaṁkara.* Kabir's remarks like

जल में कुम्भ कुम्भ में जल है बाहर भीतर पानी।
फूटा कुम्भ जल जलहिं समाना यह ततु कथउ गियानी।

(कवीरग्रंथावली, पद ४४)

जब मैं था तब हरि नहीं अब हरि है मैं नाहिं।

(कवीरग्रंथावली साखी ५।३५)

are often quoted to prove the said influence. But at the same time the most dominant element in Kabir is the Bhakti flowing in its infinity and the term *jñāna* or knowledge has hardly ever been emphasised by Kabir with so much intimacy as Bhakti. Kabir is primarily a lover of Divine, secondly a knower of Divine; hence the aspect of love is predominant in his sayings and there are numerous instances in his works to indicate clearly that he aims at identity with the Divine through love i.e. Bhakti and it is an intense emotion of Bhakti which results in his complete annhilation of egoistic self and it is this force which makes him see all around him nothing else but his great Beloved, the Divine, e.g.

लाली मेरे लाल की जित देखौं तित लाल
लाली देखन मैं गई मैं भी हो गई लाल।
तूं तूं करता तूं भया मुझ में रही न हूं।
वारी फेरी बलि गई जित देखौं तित तूं।

(कबीरग्रन्थावलो, साखी २-५)

and this realization of all pervading Divine love is not merely an indication of *advaitavādī* concept of God. This is a growth resulting from a long process of devotional experiences and achievements of Kabir who had been feeling the presence of the Divine Being in so many forms and through various relationships on spiritual level. Sometimes he feels this presence as mother *jananī,* sometimes as father, sometimes as friend *dosat,* sometimes as Master, and lastly as his Beloved where all his mystic experiences culminate in their fullest height and depth of bliss. A few instances are quoted below to give a flash of his multiple relation with the Divine whom he evidently regards not merely as presence but as a personality :

हरि जननी मैं बालक तेरा।
काहेन औगुम वकसहु मेरा॥ (कबीरग्रंथावली, पद १११)

अवगुन मेरे बापु जी बकछ गरीब निवाज।
देखौ कर्म कबीर का कछु पूरब जनम का लेख।
जाकी महल न मुनि लहै सो दोसत किया अलेख॥

(कबीरग्रंथावली, साखी ५-१२)

उस संप्रंथ का दास हौं कदे न होइ अकाज।
पतिव्रता नांगी रहै तो उस हि पुरुस को लाज॥ (वही, ११-१७)

कबीर कूता राम का मुतिया मोरा नाउं।
गले राम की जेवड़ी जित खैचै तित जाउं॥ (वही, ११-१४)
धरि परमेछर पाहुंणा छणौ सनेहीदास।
षटरस भोजन भगति करि, ज्यूं कदे न छांड़े पास॥ (वही, ११-१८)
मन प्रतीति न प्रेम रस ना इस तन में ढंगं।
क्या जाणौं उस पीव सूं कैसें रहसी संग॥ (वही, ११-१६)

Kabir touches the softest point of devotional outlook when he says :

नैना अंतरि आव तूं ज्यूं हौं नैन झपेंउ।
ना हौं देखौं और कूं ना तुझ देखन देउं॥ (वही, ११-२)

Thus *advaita bhakti* of Kabir is full of outbursts of Divine love and his monistic thought is not strong enough to dominate or subdue his pangs of devotional feelings. His Bhakti is *advaita* merely in the sense that it does not admit any element of Maya or falsehood to create a rift between him and his Beloved.

The most appropriate name to denote Kabir's intensity of devotion and his apathy towards mere intellectual speculations in the name of knowledge is *bhāva bhagati* where the element of emotions of the heart dominates the thought of the mind:—

कथणी बदणीं सब जंजाल
भाव भगति अरु राम निराल। (कबीरग्रंथावली, पद २०१)

This *bhāva bhagati* requires complete annihilation of egoistic self (*ahaṁkāra*) and is therefore difficult to be attained, attainable only by persons who are ready for unconditional surrender to the Divine—

भगति दुवारा साँकड़ा राई दसवें भाइ
मन तो मैगल होइ रह्यो क्यूं करि सकै समाइ।
(कबीरग्रंथावली, साखी १३-२६)

भगति दुहेली राम की नहीं कायर का काम
सीस उतारै हाथि करि सो लेसी हरि नाम।
(वही, साखी ४५-२४)

भगति दुहेली राम की जैसि अगनि को झाल
डाकि पड़े ते ऊबरे दाये कौतिगहार। (वही, साखी ४५-२६)
भगति दुहेली राम की जैसि खांडे की धार
जे डालै तौ कटि पड़ै नहीं तौ उतरै पार। (वही, साखी ४५-२५)

थोरी भगति बहुत अहंकारा ।
ऐसे भगता मिलैं अपारा ॥
भाव न चीन्है हरि गोपाला ।
जानि क अरहट कै गलि माला ॥
कहै कबीर जिनि गया अभिमाना ।
सो भगता भगवंत समाना ॥ (कबीरग्रंथावली, पद १३७)

The *bhāva bhagati* of Kabir, however, lays great stress on the innermost aspects of love and not on external ritual prevalent in the name of *bhagati*. His practical analysis of the bhakti is well exhibited in the following lines—

साँच सील का चौका दीजै ।
भाव भगति की सेवा कीजै ॥
भाव भगति की सेवा मानै ।
सत्गुर प्रकट कहै नहिं छानै ॥
जब लग भाव भगति नहिं करिहो तब लग
भवसागर क्यूं तरिहौ ।
भाव भगति बिसवास बिन कटै न संसै सूल ।
कहै कबीर हरि भगति बिन मुकति नहीं रे मूल ॥
(कबीरग्रंथावली, रमैनी ७)

भाव भगति पूजा अरु पाती ।
आतम राम मिले वहु भांती ॥ (कबीरग्रंथावली, रमैनी ४)

Kabir's concept of Bhakti, although assimilating all the basic and natural activities like *śravaṇa, kīrtana, smaraṇa, dāsya, ātmanivedana,* etc., bases its firm footing on the Divine Grace or *Kṛpā* which descends on the aspirant through the Sadguru. Like other renowned Saints, Kabir gives due weight to the significance of the Divine Grace which lies at the root of the infinite strength of Bhakti. According to Kabir, all the amount of precautions and knowledge may give way in absence of this Divine Grace—

जप तप संयम सुंचि ध्यान बदि परे सब सहित ज्ञान
कहि कबीर उबरे द्वै तीन जापरि गोविन्द कृपा कीन्ह ।
(कबीरग्रंथावली, पद ३२५)

भाव भगति हित बोहिथा सतगरु खेवनहार । (कबीरग्रंथावली, रमैनी ३)

Kabir very intelligently points out to the psychological aspect of Bhakti which clearly indicates that the mere divertion of the feeling of love from this world to the Divine may produce high results in the field of spiritual attainments—

काम मिलावै राम कूंजे कोई जाणे राषि ।
कबीर बिचारा का करै सुखदेव बोलै साषि ॥

(कबीरग्रंथावली, साखी २६-११)

Kabir quotes the authority of top ranking Bhaktas like Sukdeo of the Puranas in support of his own experiences. He had fully realized the significance of Bhakti which is the surest way to compel the Divine to manifest, as he himself puts it—

कबीर भया है केतकी भंवर भये सब दास ।
जहां जहां भगति कबीर की तहां तहां राम निवास ॥

(कबीरग्रंथावली, साखी ३०-११)

Kabir has clearly stated that his concept of Bhakti had attraction for a large number of followers who were convinced that Ram is sure to reside where Kabir's Bhakti exists.

Thus Kabir had evolved his concept of Bhakti through various stages of devotional experiences and realizations and he had definitely drawn utmost inspiration from the Vaishnavas, although assimilating here and there certain characteristics of the Path of Divine love practised by other Schools of Bhakti. Kabir's emphasis on the term भक्ति itself is a direct evidence to this fact because this term has nowhere been so predominantly in vogue to denote divine love, as in the Vaishnavas. This is an established fact, in spite of Kabir's expressely stated apathy and disregard towards the tendency of idol-worship so common in Vaishnavas. Kabir's frank declaration that he had in fact only two fellows in the universe—Vaishnava and Rama, is the strongest evidence to prove that he owed his concept of Bhakti primarily to the deep-rooted inspiration of Vaishnavas, although himself not a Vaishnava in the sectarian sense—

मेर संगी दोइ जणा एक वैष्णो एक राम ।

(कबीरग्रंथावली, साखी २८-४)

NB.—Seventh Edition of कबीरग्रंथावली edited by Syamsundar Das and published by Nagari Pracharani Sabha has been fully used for quotations.

On some Vedic and Archaic words in the Bhagavata-Purana[1]

By

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The Bhāgavata-purāṇa is a store-house of vedic myths, words and phraseology. Its style is very antique, sometimes crude, fantastic, full of obsolete words, which defy grammatical and etymological explanation. Some of the words are exclusively of Prākrit or Non-Aryan origin ; even vulgar vernacular words have been employed in some places. This paper will discuss some of these words, which will present a very interesting study from the linguistic point of view.

(1) In I.19.28 the sentence runs thus :—Śyāmaṁ sadāpīvyavayo'ṅgalakṣmyā strīṇāṁ manojñaṁ. Śrīdhara, the commentator, reads apivyavayo'ṅgalakṣmyā etc. and explains it accordingly, while some editions like the one of the Gita Press of Gorakhpur reads this word throughout the Purāṇa as 'apīcya' etc.

Now, 'apīvya' has been included by Prof. Monier Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary and he gives the meaning of 'handsome, beautiful etc.' and quotes this very verse of B.P. as an example, but does not cite any other instance from literature. Now the vedic word 'apīcya' appears on an analysis of the meaning as altogether unsuitable to the context. Cf. Yāska's Nirukta, IV, 25 :—"apīcyamapacitamapagatamapihitamantarhitaṁ vā". Bhaṭṭabhāskara, while explaining the verse, RV I.84.15 ; 'namatvaṣṭurapīcyam', which also occurs in T.B. I.5.8.1, says : Āpīcyo'prakāśaḥ', following Yāska. This sense is also present in SV.2.29 ; "apīcyāṁ guhyaṁ nāma gonām" (RV.IX.87-3).

In all places in the B.P. where 'apīvya' is employed, the sense of 'beautiful' 'handsome' admirably suits the context. The Vācaspaytam also notes the word in this sense. Now, it is obsolete and is found, so far as my knowledge goes, nowhere else either in vedic or classical literature. An etymological explanation is offered here to learned scholars for what it is worth. The word pīvan, √pī 'fat', Gk. pivo, is used both in the Vedas and classical Śkt. Cf. 'pīvānaṁ meṣamapacanta vīrāḥ' RV.X.17.17 : also the stem in 'a' occurs there, e.g., RV.I.187.8-10 'vātāpepīva id bhava'. Now this pīva with taddhita 'yat' becomes 'pīvya' meaning 'fat' and as fatness is generally associated with ugliness, apīvya has come to mean 'not fat', i.e., 'handsome, pretty'.

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[1] Paper read in the Indian Linguistics Section, of the XXIInd Session of All India Oriental Conference.

(2) In B.P. III.5.10, we have—'kṣullasukhāvahānām'. Now 'kṣulla' is really a Prākrit word adopted into Sanskrit from kṣudra even at the time of Śatapatha Brā., where in 1.8.1.3, we find the sentence "yāvadvai kṣullakā bhavāmaḥ". We also find another Prākrit derivative viz. 'khuḍḍaka' in Caraka Saṁhitā in the sense 'small, minor'. We have Bengali 'khuḍā', or with a vowel mutation 'khuḍa' meaning 'uncle' from which again come chota, chotā (Hindi). Cf. Slavonic 'chudu'. In commenting on 'jālmaḥ kṣullakaścetaraśca saḥ' (Amara Koṣa II.10.16) Kṣīrasvāmin, the "etymologist, derives the word thus : "kṣubdhaṁ lāti kṣullastucchatvāt." This is philology with a vengeance and exhibits crass ignorance of the origin of some words on the part of even some of the greatest grammarians and etymologists in Sanskrit.

(3) 'śulbam' (B.P. II.7.30) : Śrīdhara explains 'śulbam' as 'dāma' (rope) ; the word is almost obsolete in literature (Cf. Mārāṭhi : sumba). Amarakoṣa notes it in II.10.27 'śulbam varāṭkam strī tu rajjustriṣu vaṭī guṇḥ'. Cf. the śulva sūtras (geometry) such as those of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, etc.

(4) 'lokachambaṭkarī' (V.1.) 'lokachadmaṭkarī' (III.18.26) in B.P. (loc. cit.). 'eṣā ghoratamā sandhyā lokachambaṭkarī'. Śrīdhara accepting the variant says : 'chadmaṭ ityvyayaṁ vināśe vartate'. This is a very obscure indeclinable, nowhere mentioned in grammar or current in usage. Of course it comes from √chad (chadman) 'cover' and therefore 'chadmaṭkarī' would mean "dusk which covers the world." Here it appears that the appendage 'ṭ' is of Prākrit origin. 'Chambaṭ' (or 'chamvat') is enumerated by Pāṇini in cādigaṇa under rule 'cādayo'satve', I.4.57, as nipāta and the meaning is well-known. The whole appearance of the word supports the justificable presumption that it is of non-Aryan origin ; in fact, words beginning with ca have been labelled by philologists as of extraneous origin. Since cādi is an Ākṛtigaṇa 'chadmaṭ' also can be included in it. Re : 'chambaṭ' an etymological explanation may be hazarded. The word is evidently connected with 'cham'. Cf. Bengali onomatopoetic word, as in the sentence : 'gā cham cham kare' 'the body shivers with fear' and as the epithet is applied to Sandhyā which is ghoratamā, 'extremely terrible', it can be connected with Bengali cham with the appendage 'baṭ'. For the cerebral in place of 't' (dental) cf. : Vaṣaṭ (Alt. Gram. p. 328). Cf. for the word TB. i.2.1.3, TS. V.4.7.4, Tāṇ. Brā. IV.10. 'acchambatkāramasyāṁ vidhema.' There it means 'so as not to fail' see Ks. XII.4, XIII.1 ; this meaning applies to Sandhyā which falls in the world. Cf. also TS. II.4.11.5 ; II.3.6.6 : "sarveṣāma bhigamayannava-dyatyachambaṭkāraṁ."

(5) 'Vanamālācchuri (B.P. V.33.3) a Prākrit word from kṣuri-rī (with pleonastic kā, sometimes). It is strange that in a serious devotional Purāṇa, a Prākṛt word vulgarly pronounced with a prothetic 'a' has found place. It is explained as cakram, a disc, by the scholiast Śrīdhara. The

word may also be dissolved as vanamālā+chhuri. We have also in Dhātupāṭha √chura chedane (1372) but that is only Prakritised form of √kṣura vilekhane (1344) or √khura chedane (D.P. 1342).

In case of initial conjunct consonants, for ease of pronunciation, we have in every language prothesis, e.g., Skt. sthira becomes in Hindi (coll.) asthira : Eng. 'stable' becomes in vernacular āstābal. Pāṇini in rule VIII. 2.79 'na bhakurcurām' mentioned the Dhātu √chur. churi(kā) is quite current in classical literature in the sense of 'knife'. Kṣirasvāmin comments on the word in Amarakoṣa II. 8. 93 : 'churati, churikā, kṣurikāpi : Skt. kṣura=Gk. xuron, 'razor'.

(6) 'antarodaram', occurs in B.P. III. 29.26 'ātmanaśca parasyāpi yaḥ karotyantarodaram'; the meaning is 'he who maintains the slightest difference between himself and others.' Now this phrase, an archaic one, requires elucidation. The comment of Śrīdhara on this is a tissue of improbabilities, for he seeks to make out that the word is a combination of antara+ut+aram and he explains thus : 'antarā antaraṁ bhedaṁ ut api aramalpam'. Now, antarā cannot mean antaraṁ or difference. It is indeclinable, vide Pāṇini : 'antarāntareṇa yukte" (II.3.4) and Amara, 'antarā-madhye'; vide also Mahābhāṣya under Pa. 1.1.7. : 'dvayoścaivāntarā kaścividyate na vā'. It is also not known how he interprets aram as alpam. Amarakoṣa says (I.1.65) 'laghu kṣipramaraṁ drutam'. Besides the particle 'ut' (उत्) cannot be inserted in the middle of a compound and has not been used anywhere in the Vedas. The true explanation, therefore, is that the word 'antarodaram' is a combination of antara and daram; the latter may be regarded as a truncated form of 'dahra' (dabhra) 'small', minus h; change of the vowel 'a' into 'o' is an irregularity. As regards 'dara' it is in all probability a Deśī word meaning 'slight' : vide Kṣirasvāmin "dareti īṣadarthe'vyayam deśyaṁ padam' (Amarakoṣa III.3.184), e.g., 'daradalitaharidrāpiñjarāṇyaṇgakāni' (Subhāṣita p. 462) In Jayadeva's Gītagovinda the word occurs in the following : 'dantarucikaumudī harati daratimiram'; there however 'dara' means 'fear' from √dṛ; the modern vernacular in Bengali, Hindi, etc., is dar. It may be added here that Skt. dara 'slight' has most probably given rise to 'zarāh' in Arabic, mod. Persian, Hindi, etc. In Tai. Up : 27/1 "udaramantaraṁ kurute" Śaṅkara explains—"udaram, udapi aramalpamantaram chidraṁ bhedam'. But 'aram' in the sense of 'little' is nowhere found in the Vedas, hence the interpretation is doubtful.

(7) 'anti'—B.P. IX.8.20 "bhasmānti dadṛśe hayam". The B.P. almost everywhere uses the word anti, essentially Vedic, in preference to 'antika', its latterday derivative. The RV. also consistently uses the particle which is cognate with Lat. 'ante' and only once in the tenth Maṇḍala it uses antikam, vide RV. X. 161.2. the magic formula to exorcise tuberculosis: "yadi kṣitāyuryadi vā pareto yadi mṛtyorontikaṁ nīta eva tamāharāmi nirṛterupasthādaspārṣmenaṁ śataśāradāya" 'antika' is used in RV IX.78.5, jahi śatrumantike dūrake ca ye'. In the earlier portion of the RV. 'anti' is the usual indecli-

nable. Examples : RV. 8.11.4 : 'anticit santamaha'; RV. 1.79.11 : 'anti dūre padṣṭa saḥ'; 5.76.2 : 'anti nūnmaśvinopastuteha' (SV. 2.1103); AV. 10.8.32 'anti santaṁ na jahāti', etc.

(8) "Paṇayaḥ"—B.P. V.9.15 "atha paṇayastam puruṣapaśuṁ bhadrakālyāḥ purata upaveśayāmāsuḥ'. 'Paṇayaḥ' is intepreted by Śrīdhara aś caurāḥ, thieves or dacoits. Nirukta, II.17 says : paṇirvaṇikbhavati. √paṇa, to trade. Gk. polein 'sell' Lith. pēlnes; cerebral ṇ due to original r=l. Alt. Gram p. 194. 'paṇih paṇanāt', cf. RV. I.124.10 'abudhyamānāḥ paṇayaḥ sasantu'; Also RV. I.32.11 :

dāsapatnīrahigopā atiṣṭhan niruddha āpaḥ paṇineva gāvaḥ
apāṁ bilamapihitaṁ yadāsīdvṛtraṁ jaghanvāvapa tadvavāra

The Paṇis are the asuras who steal away the cows, i.e., the so-called 'cattle-lifters'. In RV. X. 108 we have a beautiful dialogue, between Saramā, a canine messenger of Indra (devaśunī) and the Paṇis, the robbers of cows which are released by Indra. According to Zimmermann, the Paṇis are not the miserly offenders, stigmatized by the Brāhmaṇas, but a tribe which seems to have caused great damage to cattle and other property of the wandering Indians. They were occupying the banks of the Rasā, the Raṅhā of the Avesta, a river of the earlier common homes."

The transformation of the historico-mythical Paṇi is from √paṇ, 'to bet', used in gambling and a gambler often resorted to unfair tricks to steal a victory over the opponent. In this way the word became associated with theft and, according to Nirukta, gave rise to vaṇik whose transactions also are not always above board. Cf. a śloka quoted by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṅsā : "nāstyacauraḥ kavijano nāstyacauraḥ vaṇigjanaḥ". In Vedic tradition also the Paṇis i.e. Vṛtra (cloud) stole away the cows (waters) and, therefore, Paṇi by gradual evolution acquired the meaning of 'thief'.

(9) In I.3.4 the following occurs : "paśyantyado rūpamadabhra-cakṣuṣā". For dabhram cf. RV. I. 126. 7 : 'mā me dabhrāṇi manyathāḥ'. Nir. says (III. 20) "dabhraṁ dabhnoteh sudambhaṁ bhavati", i.e., small. It is traced to √dabh, 'to injure', lit. that which can be easily injured or cut being small. The I.E. prototype is 'dhomb', to injure, Gr. 'ātembo', 'I injure'. This word is used again and again in B.P. Cf. 'dahra' where h is due to analogy of 'dahara' meaning small cf. Mahānār. Upa.10.7. "daharaṁ viparmaṁ varaṁ veśmabhūtaṁ tatrāpidahram gaganam".

(10) B.P. I.2.26 : 'nārāyaṇakalāḥ śāntāḥ bhjanti hi anasūyavaḥ. The archaic form anasūyu not sanctioned by Pāṇini is used in several places in B.P. Pā. II.2.170 "kyācchandasi' provides affix 'u' for deno, verbs ending in kyac, etc. By an extension, it embraces such cases as 'turaṇyavo'ṅgiraso-'nakṣanta', 'samarpyemamsaparyavaḥ', 'yamasya yonau' śakunaṁ bhuranyum. All these Vedic formations are valid as these verbs are enlisted in Kaṇḍīdigaṇa. Now Tatvabodhinī raises the question how we are to defend

such expressions as 'santaḥ praṇayivākyāni gṛhṇanti hi anasūyavaḥ" used by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. The answer given is that we should suppose 'asūyu' as included in mṛgayu etc.; vide Uṇādi Sūtra (39). mṛgayvādayaśca, e.g., mṛgayuḥ (hunter), devayuḥ, etc. . This group is taken as an Ākṛtigaṇa and so we can very well put in 'asūyu', envious, there. This is the opinion of Haradatta, the author of Padamañjarī.

(11) In X.6.4 we have "yoṣitvā māyayātmānaṁ prāviśat kāmacāriṇī", 'Having converted herself into a young woman by magic she entered' etc. Here strangely enough against all grammatical injunctions and procedure 'yoṣit, a young woman, traced to √yu (cf : Nir. II. 15 : yoṣā yauteḥ) has been converted into a denominative verb and we have the gerundial form in ktvāc. The word according to philologists can be traced back to Indo-Eur. 'Jeus' 'young', Lat, 'Juno', name of goddess. In RV. VIII.1.27. "gamat sa śiprīna sa yoṣat" and in VIII 33.9 nendroyoṣatyāgamat we have √yuṣ in the sense of 'mating'. This root has also gerundial form in 'yoṣitvā' but the sense of 'mating' is inapplicable here. Sāyaṇa under RV. III.52.3 'badhyuriva yoṣanām' says √yuṣ bhajane iti sautro dhātuḥ.

(12) 'kaṭākṣepaih' X.32.6. The B.P. almost always uses this word meaning 'side-glance' in preference to the more widely current 'kaṭākṣa'. Kṣīrasvāmin the author of the common Amarakoṣa remarks (Amara. II. 6.94) : 'kate kṣipati katākṣaḥ'. His etymology therefore is that it is a combination of kaṭa+ā+kṣip and then by an elison of the vowel 'i' and consonant 'p' we have this irregular formation. We have thus here a case of varṇalopa not easily explicable; his derivation seems to be supported by the use of the fuller form 'kaṭākṣepa' in B.P. The second component of the word would appear to be wrongly taken to be a relic of √kṣip-; besides it does not explain the disappearance of p, etc.; this word does not occur in old literature. The kaṭa betrays its Prākrit origin, though Mahābhāṣya and Pā. use it. The true explanation seems to be that the second part is akṣi reduced to akṣa itself. Śrīdhara, the commentator explains the word 'kaṭākṣepa' thus : "kaṭāḥ kaṭākṣāstair ya ākṣepāḥ." So kaṭa is used as abbreviated form like 'bhīma' for bhīmasena' or Satyā for Satyabhāmā on the principle of 'ekadeśavikṛtamananyavat' (Paribhāṣā 37). This etymology seeks to explain the elision of kṣa by Haplology (samākṣaralopaḥ).

(13) leṇḍam—In X.37.8. we have the sentence 'papāta leṇḍaṁ visṛjan kṣitau vyasuḥ'; leṇḍam is purīṣam (filth, excreta). Possibly only in Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa works, we have this purely Deśī and vulgar word used and it is passing strange how a Prākrit as well as Grāmya word could find its place in serious devotional poetry. In coll. East Bengali, the word appears as leḍ, leḍā, West Bengali, nād, nāḍ. No doubt it is a non-Aryan word and the cerebral sound unmistakably betrays its exotic origin.

(14) In X.14.60 we have the following :

etat suhṛdbhiścaritam murāre
raghārdanaṁ śādvalajemanañca.

The word jemanam is very important from the philological point of view. It means bhojanam, 'eating'. Cf. Amarakoṣa II.9.56 'jemanaṁ teha āhāro nighaso nyāda ityapi,' phelā bhukta-samujjhitam ; Most of the words catalogued here are Prākrit or Deśī : Kṣhīrasvāmin comments : 'jamirejemanamāhuḥ, jamanaṁ javanaṁ vā yat Durgaḥ "javanaṁ bhojanaṁ kvacit'. So it appears that this foreign word was adopted into Sanskrit long while ago and no one was sure of its exact form and it was even pronounced as javanam. Pā. in D.P. reads, √chamu, jamu, jhamu adane (nos 470-2). Bhaṭṭoji under Pā VII. 3.75 says : 'jimiṁ' kecit paṭhanti jemati. Tattvabodhinī says : (loc. cit.) 'tathā ca jemanamiti bhojane prayuñjate'. All this shows that the authors were quite conscious of the foreign origin of the words, when they used such expressions as āhuḥ, prayuñjate, etc. Now it is considered to be of Austro-Asiatic origin. Cf. Hindi : 'jevnā' to eat, Beng. 'jabnā' (fodder), Mar. Jevnē 'eat', Santali : 'jām' Kurku : 'Jome'. Cf. also Juang, Jim, Sāvara Jvm, etc. Its use in Classical Skt. is rare and very late. Possibly 'jambha' (Vedic) meaning 'tooth', Gk. gomphos, old, sl : Zobu, Lith : Zambas, owes its origin to √jam. Pā in V. 4.125 'jambhā suharitatṛansomebhyaḥ' uses it and Bhaṭṭoji says : 'jambho bhakṣye dante ca'. The word occurs several times in RV, e.g. in I.143.5 : 'agnirambhaistigitairatti bharvati', etc. Jambha < √jam, is cognate with English 'Jaw'-"Gum".

Educational Data from the Medhatithi

By

BAIJ NATH PURI

The *Medhātithi* of Kulluka, a commentary on the *Manusmṛiti*, provides useful information regarding the cultural condition of the period when this work was composed. The Smriti text codifying rules of conduct is made elaborate with the additional information. Illustrations in comments are symbolic of the picture of the region and its people. As such the data furnished are useful. That relating to education in all aspects—the nature of study, the subjects of study, kinds of teachers, relations between the preceptor and the pupil, fees, punishment, etc., are covered by the piece of information furnished by the commentator. We might, therefore, notice these individual aspects of education.

The nature of study varies accordng to the taste of the pupil and his requirements. It could be purely ritualistic on the Vedic pattern, or might be changed to meet the needs of Kshatriya and Vaisya pupils. It could as well be with the help of works or otherwise. The age of the pupil and his mental make-up are also taken into consideration at the time of the instruction. Teaching in general stands for the acquiring of seen and unseen results, and for the purpose of that acquisition, it consists either in instruction with the help of books or in teaching and expounding of the scripture (*dṛishṭvā dṛishṭaphalvapniḥ śreyaḥ tadārtham—agranthako vopadeśa-Śāstrādhāpana vyākhyāne va*) (II. 159). The study of the several Vedas is purely optional (II.165). Before initiation, the study of such subsidiary science as of Phonetics, Grammar and the rest is not prohibited (*prākyopanayanādhyayanam-anishiddhan siksha vyakaraṇādi yad-Veda-vākyair-na miśritam* (II.168). The study of grammar and other sciences as well could follow Vedic study. During the time intervening this study and the marriage it could be possible for the pupil to carry on the study of grammar and other sciences which help in the understanding of Vedic texts (III. 2). A complete mastery of the Vedic texts with meanings is a must for a Vedic scholar before marriage. At another place Kulluka points out that even the study of a single recensional text is to be regarded as fulfilling the injunction of Vedic study (II.165). In his comment on Manu (II.12) relating to the knowledge of *Dharma* contained in the Veda as the highest authority, Kulluka points out that the comprehension of the word requires the thorough study of the sciences of *Nigama* (Vedic commentaria) *Nirukta* (Philology), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *Tarka* (Logic) Purāṇa (History) and *Mīmāṁsā* (Exigetics). The entire mass of literature can never be acquired unless a pupil renounces all other activities.

There is no hard and fast rule for study. The name of the Vedic texts in relation to a particular individual is not such an invariable factor as his *gotra* and *pravara*. If he studies the Ṛig-Veda he is called *Bahvṛicha*. A man often studying several Vedic texts has the option to call himself a *Kauthuma* (Sāmavedin), *Kāṭhaka* (Yajurvedin) and *Bahvṛicha* (Ṛigvedin) (II.29). The initiation of pupils called the Vedic birth by Manu, is explained further in the *Medhātithi*. The person who teaches the pupil, considering it his duty, and instructs him by expounding the meaning of Vedic texts, is the real father of the pupil even though he might be younger in age. The initiation is performed in the eighth year (II. 50). It is not by reason of his age that one is known as a child. It is the ignorant, uneducated person, even though old in age, who is the real child. The Brahmin, who initiates the pupil, is called the preceptor (II.140). He expounds the meaning of *mantras*—standing for all Vedic passages. He is called *āchārya* (*upanīyopanayanan kritvā yo vedam-adhyāpayati grāhayati sa āchāryaḥ*).

The three types of teachers enumerated by Manu (II.141) are noticed by Kulluka with broad explanation of their duties. *Upādhyāya*, according to Manu, teaches for a living only a part of the Veda, or only the Vedic subsidiary sciences. The person who may teach even the entire Veda to a pupil, intiated by another person is not the preceptor (*āchārya*), accord- to the commentator, nor is he the preceptor who having initiated a pupil does not teach him the entire Veda. The initiation of the pupil is the important duty of the preceptor. The person inferior to him is the *Guru*, who is superior to the sub-teacher or *upādhyāya* (*gururasāvāchāryānnyūna upādhyāyād apy adhikaḥ*). The teacher is the greatest benefactor by imparting learning to his pupil. Even after the attainment of accomplishment, the pupil must not do any harm to all the three kinds of teachers. In fact they should be honoured by word, mind and act (*vāchā, manasā, karmaṇā.*) There are references to fees also. Person teaching with a stipulated fee is called *bhṛitakādhyāpaka*. It could as well be substituted by the rendering of service to the teacher (*guravaḥ upacharyaḥ*) which include the washing of the feet of the teacher and the like. Fees are paid as incentives to service. This is not necessary in case where a person enjoys the work under the influence of some form of prompting (III.3).

Some interesting information is also available regarding the pupil's code of conduct. The student should either shave his head or wear his hair in braids (III.151). He must avoid the rubbing of the head and body with oil or such other oily substance, but their use by way of medicine is not prohibited (*naushadhārthatayā*). Similarly the pupil must not apply collirium to the eyes (*añjanaṁ chakshusha*), avoid shoes made of leather (*upānahau charmapāduke*). The use of umbrella by himself or by some one else, dancing (*nartanam*), singing (*gītam*), playing on musical instruments (*vādanam*), gambling (*dyūtam-akshakrīḍāh*) calumniating (*janavādam*), lying (*anānritam*), and finally gazing and touching a woman are prohibited. Kulluka explains gazing as looking intentionally with a view to observe the shape of limbs—calling some part beautiful, while touching stands for embracing. These two are prohibited for fear of their leading to sexual intercourse. He must sleep alone (II.178); for otherwise he breaks his vow of studentship. The pupil is not to use a bedstead (II.108) Patañjali calls such a pupil *Khatvārūḍha* who ascends the bed where he is not entitled to do so.

The relation between the pupil and the preceptor is also noticed. Personal attendance on the teacher is enjoined accoring to the strength of the pupil, which includes massaging the body of the teacher and so forth. (II.109) The teacher is expected to be gentle and loving, asking the pupil to attend to the chapter under study, and then he could play with the boys of his age, but distraction from study could mean the use of the bamboo rod. Punishment for being inattentive could as well be by strokes of the rope. The cloth from the back is to be removed and the boy is struck with the rope on the naked body, so that he should feel pain (II.159). According to Gautama, too much chastisement should be avoided. (2.42.47)

Kulluka also suggests that as far as possible too much teaching and chiding should be avoided, but punishment in some form is necessary (II.159). The study continues till such time as the daily routine of two chapters is completed (II.71). On the *chaturdaśi* and such official holidays even the *mantras* in connection with oblation should not be recited. (II.105)

The period of studentship culminated with the pupil taking the final bath, *samāvartana*. At that time he should, when he is asked to do so, bring for his teacher all that may be within his power (II.112). One who pays money clearly brings a visible benefit to the teacher (II.109). Teaching being compulsory, if fully qualified pupils be not available, one might fulfil his duty of teaching by getting hold of substitutes (II.113). This shows that it was incumbent on the teachers to have pupils for the diffusion of knowledge. Those pupils who could afford to pay were required to compensate the teacher.

It is difficult to suggest the extent to which the information from the *Medhātithi* on this aspect could be a faithful picture of the existing educational pattern. Of course, he does not refer to big institutions or centres of learning. The teacher's house still remains the seat of education. Otherwise, there does not seem to be much change. The system of study, the method of teaching and individual attention, coupled with the mutual relation between the preceptor and the pupil, did not change substantially.

Echoism in Santali Language

By

MUNISHWAR JHA

Max Müller smiled upon the claims of sound-echoism in language. To quote his words: "the onomatopœic theory goes very smoothly as it deals with cackling hens and quackling ducks; but round that poultry-yard, there is a high wall, and we soon find that it is behind that wall that language really begins." (Life, 2.97). His other remark in the same vein is, "words of this kind are, like artificial flowers, without a root. They are sterile, and unfit to express anything beyond the one object they imitate". (ibid, 1.410).

But the truth is otherwise. There is no denying that onomatopes have a natural correspondence between sound and sense. They represent the sounds involuntarily emitted by the human vocal organs and thereby they are reflex-response to inner or outer stimuli. O. Jesperson rightly hits the marks when he says that "from the rudest and most direct imitations of this kind we may arrive through many gradations at some of the subtlest effects of human speech". (Jesperson, Language, p. 414.)

The present paper is intended to deal with sound echoism and with the great rôle played by onomatopes in Santali language. The Santali is very rich in having such words, which designate object by sounds and offer a number of linguistic peculiarities. They constitute an important part of its vocables.

For the sake of convenience Santali onomatopes may be classed into 4 divisions.

Firstly, the simplest and the most fertile is the class of words denoting the sounds produced by beasts, birds and insects. From the earliest time there has been a progressive tendency to humanise those sounds and thereby the result has been also to indicate the corresponding action of human beings. Thus, such words have in course of time become more expressive than they were. Examples: ghàe ghàe is originally the snarling of a dog and now it means also to snarl as a dog. Likewise ṭere ṭere is primarily the croaking of frogs and then is applied to thin or weak voice of a small person, to vaunt or beast in case of insignificant persons.

Other examples are:—

aḍra aḍra, bellowing of the cattle.

ap', to alight as a bird.
kàs kùs, to whine as a dog when pleased.
korok' korok', koṭet' koṭet', to crackle as a hen.
khekhe kheke, cry of certain birds, when they see a tiger, a leopard or other wild animals.
gondrao, to growl or snarl, as a tiger.
cak' cak', chak' chak', gobbling sound, as by a pig while eating.
caṭek' caṭek', sound as of a dog lapping.
ciric' ciric', chirp of sparrow.
ciren' ciren', chirping of birds.
cùi cùi, cùc cùc, coc' coc', squeaking of young rats or mice.
cot' cot' coder, cot' cot' coḍru, cry of a Hapu.
ṭipi ṭipi, call of the ghardidi or small Tailer bird.
ḍhào ḍhào, buzzling, as mosquitoes do.
ḍhap ḍhap, sound of flapping or clapping of wings.
phuphuau, phupuau, to blow, to hiss, as a snake; to snort.
ranranao, humming sound produced by certain insects, Fig. shrill sound.
rasak', rasak' rasak', sound of wrenching, as that produced by a cow, while grazing.
hakar hakar, applied to a peculiar sound made by the pariah dog when chasing anything.
hàkàr hàkàr, hanḍrun hanḍrun, applied to the call of the leopard at a certain season of the year; also the wheezing of a person suffering from bronchitis.
haḍur haḍur, the roaring of wild beasts.
huḍur huḍur, the lowing of a cow in quest of her calf; Fig. the sound produced by a deep toned flute.
hua hua, huahuke, cry of jackal.
huh huh, call of bear, when enraged.
hoc hoc, the call of a certain owl.
hokor hokor, cry of leopard.
homba homba, lowing of cattle.

Closely connected to the above are sounds which Santal speakers use to call the attention of particular animals. These are most probably associated with the call of respective beings. A call to goats is ḍorae, ḍorae, to pigs ḍru ḍru, ḍruḥ, to sheep ḍruhet' ḍruhet', to buffaloes ḍrui ḍrui. A call to oxen at the plough when it is required that they should turn in small space is geḍeter.

In the 2nd division come the sounds produced by natural phenomena such as water, fire, wind, storm and others. As these are the imitations of 'inarticulated sounds', there are multiplicities of forms. It is difficult for the speech organs to give the perfect imitation of such sounds. It is why we find different symbols for a particular signification—the supporting consonants remain often constant and vocalic sounds roll in permutations. As for example, to bubble as a spring of water, or as boiling water is denoted by so many expressions. They are: bhakar bhakar, bhakar bhakar bhukur, bhukur bhulur. The other symbolic expressions of the same are khad khadae, khudu khudu, khode khode, khede khed, khede khede, kedec' bedec' and like. These different forms may be explained as different ways of expressing the same sense perception. The reduplication is the usual phenomenon to heighten the emotional effect. Likewise, for the sound of splashing water we have kabuk', kabuk' kabuk', kubuk' kubuk', kubuk' menti. When dry leaves rustle or brittle by being crushed, to Santal speakers it is racup' rucup', rucup' rucup' racup', rucup' rucup'.

A list of other such sounds is as follows:—

gad gad, god god, noise of falling water, as over a waterfall.
gad gadao, noise of water flowing or rushing.
gad gud, sound of milk streaming into the pail during the process of milking.
gaṛ gaṛ, sound of bubbling.
caḍak' cuḍuke', cuḍuk' cuḍuk', caḍuk' caḍuk', noise of plumping into water.
ciroc' ciroc', ciroc' coroc' coroc', coroc' coroc', sound of falling water, dripping.
coḍe coḍe, coḍec' coḍec', sound of water falling into a stream.
jhoṛe jhoṛe, sound of falling or dripping water.
jhoṛoe jhorao, sound of wind and rain.
ḍaba ḍabu, noise made with feet and hands while swimming.
ḍhok' ḍhok', ḍhok' ḍhokao, gurgling sound; or that made by water poured out of a bottle.
ḍhokek' ḍhokek', the sound produced when water is shaken.
dul dul, sound of far off thunder, Fig. to rumble, to reverberate.
phoḍo phoḍo, sound produced when the hubble bubble is being smoked.
phor phor, imitative of the sound produced by a strong flame, Fig. to blaze.
bidic' bidic', to bubble, Fig. to rise in bubbles, to keep moving, more than sufficient.
ruhur ruhur, sound of rustling, as of dry leaves.
reto reto, imitative of the sound produced when sawing wood.
sàe, sàe, imitative of the sound produced by water about the boiling point; Fig. sound produced by a large snake moving quickly.
sayaṅ sayaṅ, rushing, as stiff breeze.
sayar sayar, to blow hard, strong as wind.

ap', to alight as a bird.
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sàe, sàe, imitative of the sound produced by water about the boiling point; Fig. sound produced by a large snake moving quickly.

sayaṅ sayaṅ, rushing, as stiff breeze.

sayar sayar, to blow hard, strong as wind.

seṭe seṭe seṭe, a suppressed bubbling water.
soḍo soḍo, sound produced by water falling into water.
hadae hadae, noise produced by moderate strong wind.
haḍaṛ haḍaṛ, haḍar haḍar, sound produced by a stiff gale.
had hud, rustling, as of clothes when the wearer walks, or of wind.
haḍur haḍur, rolling of thunder, Fig. and deep noise.
habka dubka, noise made while swimming.
habuk dubuk, applied to the sound produced in water by a fatigued swimmer.
(It is noteworthy that change in vocalic sounds brings the difference in meaning).
haṛas haṛas, sound of cracking, as of a branch, of thunder, of rumbling.

Third class is of mechanical sounds, produced by the objects which sound while in action. As we have seen in the preceding group, such sounds differ according to the difference in perceiving them. Thus, the sound produced by a string when pulled tight is pheṅ pheṅ; if the string is tight and is suddenly relaxed, the twanging sound produced is phoṅ phoṅ. The ringing sound as when an anvil or iron is struck with a hammer is thiṅ, thiṅ thiṅ, while the tinkling sound of small bells or produced by light cymbals is ṭhiriṇ, ṭhiriṇ ṭhiriṇ, ṭiriṇ ṭiriṅ. Likewise the tapping sound emitted by the light object is ṭec' ṭec'. The thumping sound made when the ḍheṇki, wooden machine for husking and cleaning the grain, is being worked is ḍhikur, ḍhiṅkur. The rattling sound produced by shaking anything as a door, etc., is ḍheker ḍholor. The grating sound is symbolised by phaṭar phaṭar.

Some of the important imitative sounds of this class are:—

gadop' gadop', rhythmical, measured sound produced by an instrument, while dancing to music.
gabuḍ gabuḍ, sound of the beating of drums.
capoṭ capoṭ, capot' capot', sound produced by the left hand stroke on a drum which is softer than that produced by the right one. Fig. alternately soft and loud.
cobhor cobhor, imitative of the sound produced when pounding the corn.
jhagar jhagar, applied to the sound produced when a drum is beaten in a certain time.
jhamar jhamar, jhumur jhumur, sound produced by a certain hollow ornaments with small pieces of metal or stones inside when shaken. Fig. tinkling sound.
jhargoe jhargoe, jhaṛgoe jhaṛgoe, sound produced by throwing a stick to knock down fruit from a tree.

ṭhak ṭhak, ṭhapor ṭhapor, applied to the sound produced by light objects coming into contact with each other. Fig. light-tapping or rustling sounds.

ṭhus ṭhus, imitative of the sound produced by any brittle object cracking.

ḍap' ḍap', sound produced by light objects falling in succession.

ḍeḍeṅ ḍeḍeṇ, sound produced when the

ḍeḍeṅ ḍeḍeṅ, sound produced when the ḍhak drum is beaten.

ḍhampur ḍhampur, sound produced by Ḍhenki when worked rapidly.

ḍaṛaṇ ḍhaṛṇ, ḍhuruṇ ḍhuruṇ, applied to the sound produced when two bells of different tones are struck one after another.

ḍhep' ḍhep', sound produced by beating drum.

ḍhop' ḍhop', sound produced by a drum with a hole in it, or one that require lacing.

dào dào, noise produced by spinning wheel, charkha.

dampol dampol, dhampol dhampol, sound produced by one end of Ḍenki, striking the ground.

dhorot' dhopot', dhorot' dhorot', applied to the sound produced by the Tumdak drum when the varnish has been worn off.

pépé, sound produced by a bugle, a trumpet, etc.

photo photo, sound emitted by a totko or wooden bell, sometimes tied round the necks of cattle.

reber reber, reḍiṅ reḍiṅ, see above dhorot' dhopot'.

reto reto, imitative of sound produced when sawing wood.

loko phoko, applied to the sound produced by a thick substance in boiling.

hanar hanar, sound produced by morris bells attached to a band round ankles.

hanar jhanar, sound emitted by morris bells attached to an anklet paeṅgan.

handrun handrun, sound of stirring in an earthenware vessel with an iron ladle or spoon.

heder heder, sound produced by the spinning wheel, when revolving.

Lastly, we have the fourth group of Santali echoisms which are projected on the subtle interpretation and thereby the direct correspondence between sound and sense is in many cases lost or at least it appears to have faded. They belong to the class of onomatopes interpreted. Only minute study can reveal their symbolic nature. Thus, in all its probability bedic', bedic' was originally confined to bubbling or rising in bubbles and thereafter becomes the common expression for more than sufficient and also for 'to keep moving'. Likewise we have sound symbolisms like dag dag, well and brilliant, chachak' to break or to tear in shreds. Sound echoisms like chakop', cakop' noise emitter by smacking the lips, khic' khic' sound produced by a person while chocking, ṅohor ṅohor sound uttered sweetly, phu phu to blow or to hiss (as a serpent), pusur pusur to whisper, rihir rihir louḍ reverberating, asac' usuc', asàc' usùc' to weep or to sob, bhad, bhud, bhad bhud, to fall with a thud, ludup' ludup' applied to the movement of a very fat person when his flesh shakes each time he stirs, tûkuc, earthenware vessel, huḍka smoking pipe, Boṅga burû evil spirit, etc. may be safely explained by the symbolic root theory of Henry Sweet.

Other examples are:

keṭer keṭer, to grind the teeth.
khirir khirir, sound of climbing or ascending rapidly.
guhur guhur, gùhùr guhur, having sound of voices, but words inaudible.
gondor gondor, muttering in a low tone of voice.
ṭeho ṭeho, to cry as an infant.
mukur mukur, munching or crunching sound, when a raw thing is being eaten.
mucur mucur, crunching sound, as when eating anything crisp.
rahoṭ rahoṭ, raheṭ pahoṭ, sound produced by rubbing the person with hands.
lador bador, stammering.
sauk, sauk sauk, to produce a sucking sound while eating anything juicy.
sokor sokor, gulping sound; sound producěd by an osbtruction in the windpipe or nostrils, to gurgle.
hadar hadar, sound of scratching (as by a rat).
hat pat, sound of rustling, usually of the feet of someone passing, quickly.

The above lists of different classes of onomatopes in Santali language are not exhaustive. A large list of such sounds may be compiled and I think, it would be an interesting task in Indian linguistics.

Language, above all, is an art, an art of symbolisation. And echo-words are more significant and more suggestive than the conventionalised and arbitrary words of language. They are the type of words "where more is mant than meets the ear". They possess sentimental appeal and thereby are true to our life. They are like 'sound paintings'. They are, so to say, natural and scented flowers blossoming in the vast desert of the linguistic conventions. They are poetry in themselves.

A Note on the Khamtis and their Language

By

S. BISWAS

1. *The Khāmṭī—Their name in History*

In the recorded history of the Ahoms, we find the reference to the Khāmṭīs during the reign of Shuhengphā. In 1797 the Khāmṭīs along with some other tribes including some other Tāi people like the Phākiyāls and the Narās revolted.[1] Nothing is known about the Khāmṭīs prior to this date, and in the burañjī of the Āhom kings, where we find systematic accounts with minute details and specific dates, there is unfortunately no mention of the advent and settlement of one of their kinsmen. We are, however, informed that the Khāmṭīs emigrated to Assam from their earlier settlement near the source of the Irrāwady in Burma, and that country is known to them as Bar-Khāmṭī.[2] We do not know the reason of their coming to India, Dalton remarks at the time of his survey work in 1872 that these people came "within the last hundred years". Grierson thinks that they were invited by their kins-brethern, i.e., the Āhoms. He notes,[3] "Their principal settlement was high up on the latter (i.e., Irrāwaddy) river in the country known as KHĀM-ṬĪ-LONG or "Great Khāmṭī Land". Thence, some of them were invited by their kinsmen, the Āhoms, and settled in Eastern Assam, where they ultimately ousted their former hosts."

Incidentally we should like to refer to the records of the Āhoms where we find means of two kings who are said to have reigned at still earlier periods and their names bear the designation "Khāmṭī". This may be a mere similarity of words, and, moreover, there are no other historical records or any other positive evidence to establish this as a fact regarding the identity of the Khāmṭīs as a distinct Tāi people at that stage of history. One is the name of the king Khām-tyipphā who is said to have reigned in Śaka 704 in the Manlung country.[4] Secondly, there was another king of the Āhoms who ruled in 1380 A.D. in the Āhom country in India. His name was—Khamthī[5] It might however be a fact that there was at this stage of history, no separate people as such, and they might not have any dialect also. They were probably one with the Āhoms at that time and emerged as distinct dialect-community only after their separation from the Āhoms. Grierson also puts the problem before us in a hesitant tone when he observes,[6] "We are not in a position to say that it is certain that Khāmṭīs and Shān are actually descended from Āhom, but it is very probably the case."

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[1] G. C. Barua, *Ahom Burañjī*, p. 364.

[2] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 10.

[3] *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. 1. Part 1. p. 51.

[4] S. K. Bhuyan, edited, *Deodhāi Asam Burañjī*, p. 215.

[5] G. C. Barua, ibid., p. 49 : Chao phā Tao Kham-thī.

2. *The name—Khāmṭī :*

A Khāmṭī speaker refers to his language and race as Tāi. Shāns are called by them as Tāi-long—the great Tāi. The following examples may be noted in this connection.[7]

(a) Our Khāmṭī custom—thung Tāi tū.

(b) Do you know Khāmṭī Language—maü khan tāi chang ū ke ?

(c) We Khāmṭīs keep slaves—tū Tāi kem khā nam. The word 'Khāmṭī' has nowhere been used in the examples noted above. The word in fact is a place-name. 'ṭi' denotes a 'place', 'spot'. It will not be going beside the point to note an interesting account of J. Errel Gray who went to see a large rock at the mouth of the Nam-Yun (in 1892-93) which was said to have marks of a child's foot and that of a bird's claw. The legend goes that in the olden days an enormous bird "whenever seized a child would go off with it to a high hill in the Nam Yun Valley called *"noi kham"* (golden hill) on which grew an enormous tree whose branches were of silver and gold." The inhabitants are said to have cut off the tree which was considered to be ominous, and the place was called by them as Khām-tī i.e., golden land.[8] Needham observes in the preface to his book, "The Bor-Khāmṭis likewise call themselves 'Tāi', and they are supposed to number about 20,000. They speak of their country as Müng Khāmṭi—Country of the Khāmṭis, and two derivatives of the word 'Khāmṭi' have been given to me : (1) It means "tied to spot", from *Khām,* to stick, adhere to, remain where placed, &c., and *ti,* spot, place. . . . . . . (2) Khāmṭi means "golden locality," from *Khām,* gold and *ti*—spot, place.

3. *Khāmṭi—a dialect of Sino-Tibetan Family*

We need not go into a comprehensive account of the Sino-Tibetan Language Family. It will however be profitable to put forward the following table[9] so as to get an idea about the relative position of Khāmṭi as one of the dialects of the above family.

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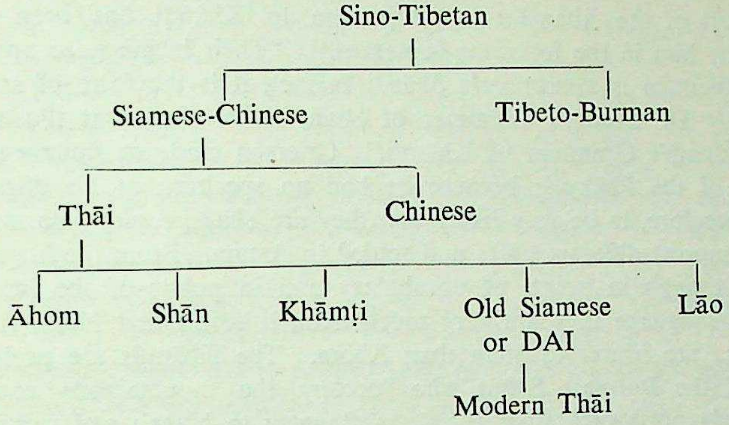
[6] *Linguistic Survey of India.*

[7] adapted from J. F. Needham, *Outline Grammar of the Khamti Languages,* pp. 45, 92, 93.

[8] 'Journey to the Bor-Khamti country', *vide* V. Elwin, *India's N. E. Frontier,* p. 381.



The Thāi group may be subdivided in accordance with the migration of the people consequently leading to different dialect-divisions. Khāmṭi, Tairong and several others spoken in Assam and North-east Burma, and numerous languages of the Shān states of eastern Burma, according to Orgill, constitute the Northern Thāi group.[10] The Āhom as a people possessing a distinct dialect is no longer in existence with their distinct racial and linguistic characteristics, and probably because of this fact Orgill puts them under the fourth sub-section of the Thāi group. It appears that the authorities are tempted to suggest a common source of Khāmṭi, Āhom, Shān, etc., which opinion is contrary to Grierson's supposition that Khāmṭi and Shān might have sprung from Āhom. Clifton Dodd while noting the three divisions of the Thāi of Burma and Assam (popularly known as three divisions of the Tāi languages of the Sino-Tibetan family includes the Tāi of Burma and Assam (popularly known as Shāns), the Hkāmti and the Ahoms under one group.[11] After a considerable lapse of time during which there had been long continued political and social upheavals, the study of the exact genealogical position has become a problem beset with unsolved difficulties and more so because the Āhom dialect has long ceased to be a living language of the people. What exactly is suggested by Clifton Dodd by the Tāi languages of Assam is porbably apparent. Besides Khāmṭi, there are some other dialects in Assam, and some of these dialects worth mentioning are Narā, Āitan, and Phāke. Grierson's observations contribute to the view of Dodd. About Narā, he points out,[12] "It possesses more points in common with the Northern Shan of Burma and has also a greater number of Burmese loan-words." Secondly, the relative position of the dialect of the Āitanyās in comparison to Khāmṭi has been well forwarded by him in the following sentences.[13] "Their language as appears from the specimen is almost pure Shan. In fact, it is the form of speech illustrated by Dr Cusing's Grammar of Shan, rather than that illustrated by Mr Needham's Grammar of Khāmṭi." Grierson made no comment on the dialect of the Phākyāls because he had no specimen at his disposal. It seems, therefore, to be very likely that they are Shān peoples who moved in small groups at different times and settled in Assam. From the linguistic standpoint, though in points of vocabulary and in points of the internal structure of language they are very much akin, it seems that Narā, Āitan, Khāmṭi, etc., are nearer to Shān than Āhom. The Khāmṭis are probably offshoots of the Burmese Shāns who "occupy the mountainous country which extends northward from the Laos Country to Yunan and westward from Cambodia river to Burma proper . . . The remnants of the large Shān Communities also exist in the region west of the upper Irawaddy."[14] The Khāmṭis are said to have come from the region of the river Irrawady (Dalton), and their earlier habitat has been traced by Errel Grady in the Nam-Yun Valley. It, therefore, seems convincing that all these people came from the Shān country and their local dialects in Assam are the result of this ramification. The Āhom, on the other hand is an older dialect. "It differs from other Thai languages spoken ni Assam, but is very similar to Thāi itself."[15]

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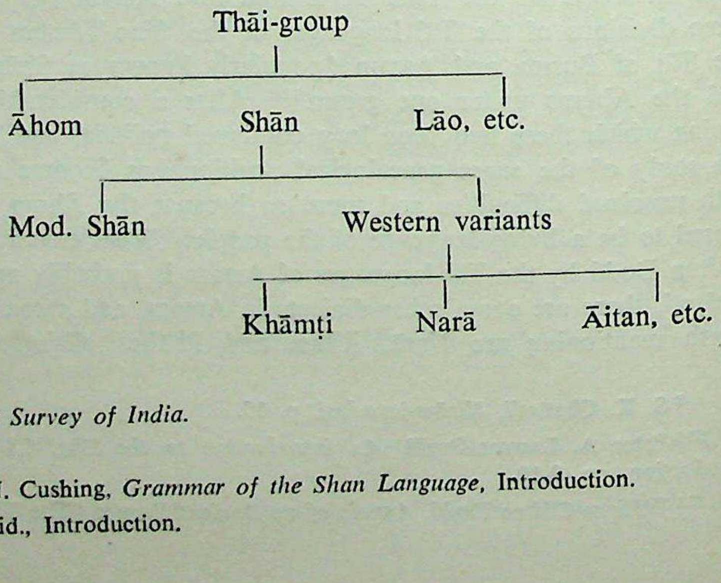
[9] S. K. Chatterji, *Kirāṭa-jana-kṛti*, p. 15.

[10] Peter A. Lanyon-Orgill, *An Introduction to the Thai (Siamese) Language*, introduction, pp. 9-10.

[11] William Clifton Dodd, *Annals of an Ancient Race* : "The Tai Race" Chap. 1.

Considering the above facts the relative position of the dialects may be noted as follows:—



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[12] *Linguistic Survey of India.*

[13] ibid.

[14] Rev. J. N. Cushing, *Grammar of the Shan Language*, Introduction.

[15] Orgill, ibid., Introduction.

4. We have prepared a list of words to indicate the phonetic variations found among the different dialects. They may be arranged in the following order:—

(a)	Āhom-*d* —	Thāi-*d* —	Shān *l* —	Khāmṭi—*n*
good—	dī	dii	lī	nī
hill—	doi	LAO. doi	loi	noi
get,—	dai	dai	lai	nai
black—	dam	dam	—	nam

(b)	Āhom-*b* —	Thāi-*w̲* —	Khāmṭi-*w* —	Shān-*w*
say—	ba	waa	wa	wa
put, place—	bai	wai	wai	wai
day—	ban	wan	wan	wan
but	to bā	—	tu wā	—

The examples noted above point to the fact that the labial plosive 'b' was pronounced as a semivowel v by some people, and the same sound in some other situations became a corresponding nasal, i.e., *m* in Shān and Khāmṭi resulting thereby a complete loss of that sound in these dialects.

(c) Āhom-*b* — Khāmṭi and Shān-*m*
leaf— bao Thāi—baj Khāmṭi/Shan—mao
village— ban ,, — mun bau man,
price low, i.e. cheap. Āhom-khan bau—Khāmṭ-khan mau.

(d) r:—'*r*' is found in Khāmṭi, but it never occurs at the initial position of a word. It is replaced by *h*, and in Thāi it is either *r* or *h*.

	Āhom	Thāi	Khāmṭi
house	rün	ryan	hün
six	ruk	hog	huk
we	raü	—	haü
head	ru	hua	hu
thousand	ring	—	hing

(e) *j*—*y*

—jau—Āhom/Thāi (past tense indicating word).
—yau—Khāmṭi/Shān ,, ,,
—khā jing—female servant (Āhom)—khā ying in Shān-Khāmṭi—ying/jing suggesting female is used as a femine indicating function-word. In Āhom the word is normally—*ñīng*. In Buranji, sometimes *jing* is found to have been used.[16]

In the absence of the nasal—*ñ* in Khāmṭi, we find *y* in a Khāmṭi word where there is *n* in Āhom.

Āhom	Khāmṭi
ñing	Ying, female
ñang	yang, to be.

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[16] *Ahom Burañjī*, p. 113.

Shān has got the phoneme *r* but words beginning with *r* are often pronounced and written as if they begin with *l*,[17] but in many cases, *h* is found to be used as in Khāmṭi as an equivalent to Āhom *r* (noted above under d). Khāmṭi and Shān do not possess a few speech-sounds—*b, d, g, j, bh, dh.* All these sounds are present in the Āhom dialect.

With regard to *b,* Cushing states that in the colloquial it is frequently used in Shān, but they are represented with *m* in the written language. Mr J. N. Phookan of the Department of History, Gauhati University, who possesses a few Āitan and Phāke Mss., informed me, "it can be established that Āitan possesses b, d, g, j, bh sounds, Narā also possesses b, j, and Phāke possesses g, d." A further point of interest is that these dialects adopt the Āhom characters to represent these sounds except one, i.e., *bh.* These languages have inherited many Pali words through religious channels and in salutation to Buddha words contáining these letters are found to be used by them.

Cushing thinks that the two sibilant-sounds (i.e. *s* and *hsa* i.e. aspirated *s*—(according to him) are palatal consonants.[18] Khāmṭi also possesses these two sounds. The Shān *s* is equivalent to what has been noted by Needham as *ch.* This sound in Khāmṭi and Shān is not a plosive sound, but a palatal affricate pronounced as *t.* In *pa chai*=male (Need-ham) and in *phu sai*=male (Cushing), *Chai* is in fact *t* S *ai.* This is probably the case with Āhom *ch* also. The word for 'seven' for instance is—Khāmti—chet (Needham), Shan-shit (Cushing) and Āhom—chit (Buranji). The other one is a sibilant *-S,* three (Khāmṭi)—sam, (Shān)—sam and Āhom—sam.

5. We propose to dwell on the general characteristics of the Khāmṭi language, and so we do not intend to go into a detailed discussion on the speech-sounds of that language. Moreover, it should be admitted that an exact idea of the speech-sounds of any language requires a thorough investigation. The so-called vowels and diphthongs offer the greatest difficulty. From a discussion with some Khāmṭi speaking students, it appeared that the manner of articulation of some vowels could not be represented by the graphemes they have. Hence there is a good deal of graphemic problem of fit. A round symbol over any consonant is ordinarily a sign for vowel -i, but a short *e* is also indicated by the same sound in Khāmṭi and Shān. There are other problems too, and the most difficult and intricate is the problem of tones. The following remark of Cushing with reference to Shān is equally applicable to Khāmṭi also. He says,[19] "The Shān like all languages abounding in homonyms is a tonal language. Accuracy in speaking it depends on an exact knowledge of the tones and the power of communi-

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[17] Cushing, ibid., art. 10.

[18] art. 8 and 11.

[19] Chapter III, art. 32.

cating them. A single combination may have variety of meanings according to the tone of the voice with which it is uttered." In Khāmṭi *mā*—dog, horse ; yau—large, completion (a past indicating word) long ; kau—I, my, nine, etc.

However, a list of the vowels and diphthongs may be inserted here to get a general idea about them.

(a) Simple vowels : land and short:—

a=man (he), han (see)/ā=kā (go), mā (come)/i (short)=kin (eat), tin (leg)/ī (long)=tī (place), pī (year) I=rather open as compared to i[20]= hit (do) hing (dry)/u-(short)=kun (man)/ū-(long)=kū (each)/e=pen (able)/o-po (father)/-(probably like ou in Eng. *hope* with a lax falling tone) ko (fear)/ ɔ :=kaw (and, also).

(b) diphthongs :—

ai-nai (This)/ei-khe (net)—with a falling tone as in Eng. eh—"when combined with a consonant (the two sound-varieties of the grapheme) are often preceded by a semivowel tone nearly equal to short y"[21]/au-kau (I), au (take)/oi-noi (hill) ou (as in Engl. home—ngo (cow),/ξu (half open e+au) seau (grasp)/iu-khiu (teeth).

(c) Middle Vowel
u=German ü—hün (house)

(d) mixed diphthongs—
aü—yaü (large)

6. *General characteristics :*

(a) Khāmṭi, a dialect of the Sino-Tibetan family is an isolating type of language. As there is no scope for inflection as in I.E. languages, the syntactical uniformity is maintained by placing different words as auxiliary elements, but these functional elements are not glued together as in the case of agglutinating languages—*kau kā ū*=I go remain i.e. I go or I am going, and *kau kā yau*=I go finished i.e. I have gone. Moreover, the position of the words in the sentence determines the sense e.g. *kau nang chai yang ū*=I brother have (possess, exist) but *nang chai kau yang u*= brother (of) me exists. If we say—*man nam mai mā yang*=he in water not belong—i.e. he is not in water ; and then shift the position of '*mai*' after '*man*', it suggests—Not belongs water to him. i.e., There is no water to him.

Then again, words cannot be arranged according to the so-called parts of speech ; though the language provides with a number of particles, auxiliaries and prepositional elements, the working vocabulary cannot be systematised into nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.

[20] Compare *English Phonetics*, by W. Ripman, 15.43.
[21] Cushing, art. 3, Chap. I.

kun hîng=man strong, i.e., strong man.
kun an hìng=man who strong
kau hìng yang ū=I strength have.

So the word 'hîng' suggest one's physical power, but as a part of speech it is either a noun or an adjective depending on the context. Similarly—

kau kin ū=I eat/I am eating.

Where—*ū* stands as an empty-word after an action-word to suggest a present tense. (In Shan it is *-yū* to remain, to dwell.[22] In the same way the so-called adjective form (*wan lüt*=hot day) can be used also i.e. *lüt ū*=hot is i.e. it is hot. '*ngai*' may be used to mean "to be easy", which when combined with '*hit*' (do) means—to do easily. Rajathon's remark about the Thai language[23] is equally applicable with regard to Khāmṭi. Such a language has words each of which is free to enter into construction of sentences without any modification as to case, gender, number, mood and tense. Each word, therefore, is independent as a unit in a sentence. A language of this type does not require, in a sense, any grammar."

(b) Roots are monosyllabic. Each word is used distinctly and independently and is never fused or incorporated with other word or words. A root word is not liable to alteration, and when two or more words are employed to convey a resultant idea, they are not compounded and as a result there is no scope for phonetic assimilation.

Some of the characteristic features are :—

(i) There is no formation of compound.
(ii) Grammatical gender is absent.
(iii) A root-word retains its monosyllabic character and is not liable to any change.
(iv) New words are formed or secondary ideas are expressed by juxtaposition of words but they do not constitute a bound morpheme.
(v) The language has got a large number of particles and auxiliaries, some of which appear to have lost independent meaning or existence, and some, having otherwise independent existence, became empty-words when they are juxtaposed as mere function-forms.[24]

An animate being is distinguished between male and female, and the inanimate beings have no formal distinction in terms of the so-called gender. The female of an animal or of a bird is indicated by using the word *me* which ordinarily means—mother, wife, female. *ngū me*=snake female, *sū me*=female tiger. Similarly feminine is indicated by *pā ying*= female, in the case of human being. *kun pā ying*=man female i.e. woman. There is no dual number, and the plurality is indicated by the word *khau*= they. The use of third personal demonstrative plural to indicate the plural is a very interesting study, and the usage is prevalent in many other languages. This point has been discussed by the present author in "The Number and Function-words." In Āhom and Shān, besides the use of *khau*, words denoting all, company, many (tang, tang lai, tSü) are used. But, as against—*nan khau mā*=that—they-dog i.e. those dogs, when many (*nam nam*) or all (*tang mung*) or a number expressing more than one is used, the word *khau* may be dispensed with.

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[22] Cushing, art. 97.

[23] P. A. Rajathon (Raja Institute, Bangkok), *Thai Language*.

[24] Vide, *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, S. Biswas : Vol. XII. No. 1 : The number and function-words, *J.U.G.*, vol. XII, no. 1, and Das Geschlecht and function words *J.U.G.*. Vol. IX, no 1.

mai is an important case-particle, which seems to have become a full-fledged suffix, with the difference that it is not attached to the word. In Khāmṭi *mai* is used for a case-relation in loc, abl, dat, acc. call the man=*kun mai hang tā*. There is tiger on the hill=*sū noi mai yang ū*. Even if a noun is governed by prepositions like, inside (*kā naü*), above (*kā nu*), near (*tai khang*) in front of, before (*kā nā*) etc. the particle *mai* is always associated with them. *Kā naü hün mai*=inside the house.

Some case particles can easily be recognised as full words—*tī*—(for acc.) place, spot, suggesting a direction to a place or person, go to him—*tī man kā tā*. As it suggests a location, Āhom makes use of *tī* for a loc. also. For the third case, *tang* (company, association) and *au* (instrument) are used. With knife=*au mīt*, with me=tang kau.

(c) The concrete character of the language can be illustrated on an examination of the fifth characteristic mentioned above. In the Tāi languages, there are auxiliaries which when used with certain nominal forms suggest a descriptive character of them. The words are "united to a particle either a substantive or verbal root denoting some rank of being, some form of object, or some quality in the noun to which it belongs."[25] A long list of such particles belonging to the Thāi language has been given by Orgill, and he mentions them as 'Classifiers'. A concrete reference to objects by use of words suggesting class-names, or by use of some prefixed auxiliaries indicating a quality or description is found in other languages also.[26] It is very difficult for a foreigner to remember the appropriate particle to be used in particular context. When we say in Bengali—"*tin jan mānuṣ*"—Three men, the word "jan" i.e. person is an auxiliary indicating a reference to human beings. But there are only a few in our languages. In Khāmṭi, *ko* is applied to human beings, *to* in the case of birds and animals.

kau nü sam *to* au taikā=I deer three (numeral particle killed.

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[25] Cushing, art. 87.

[26] A. S. Diamond, *The History and Origin of Language*, Chapter VIII.

Kau kun sam *ko* au taikā—I man three killed. Similarly, particles —lem—(things with length), phun (clothes) luk (round or cubical things) etc.

Secondly, there are another class of words which serve as determinatives. Those words are normally put before the word they are associated with. When they think of a mango they think in terms of a concrete material object, i.e. a fruit, so they say, *mak mung*=fruit mango, *mak-kü*= fruit brinjal. Similarly, *tun khau*—tree rice i.e. paddy plant. In mentioning a river, *'nam'* which means 'water' is used. In fact, *'nam'* is a concrete term for a liquid substance, so "nam phung" i.e. water of bee i.e. honey. 'tap' is prefixed for a place name—*tap dibru*=the town Dibrugarh.

The language is in a sense lacking in expressing all ideas of life and the world. No language is however perfect in this respect. To express complex ideas, or abstract notions the Khāmṭi has to take recourse to concrete reference to it. The word for 'honey' mentioned above may be remembered in this connection.

Similarly,

au me=marry—to take a woman/wife

pen sau, where 'pen'=able, can, used in a potential sense indicating capability ; 'sau'=young woman, so the suggestion is—having the capability of a woman on becoming a woman i.e. puberity.

au tai—a compound verb, 'take' and 'die' or 'taking the death', i.e., to kill.

Portuguese Words in Oriya

By

KHAGESWAR MAHAPATRA

1. In 1514 Portuguese traders set foot in Orissa and established their first settlement on the coast of the Bay of Bengal at Pipili. Most likely Pipili continued to be their main centre of trade and commerce for a considerable period. Afterwards, when they got themselves involved in the internal political affairs of Bengal, they founded, with an eye to the future prospect, new settlements at Chittagong (the Porto Grande) and Hooghly (the Porto Pequono). Since then Pipili lost its importance for them although they did not abandon the place completely for a pretty long time. We find that Joannes De Laët in 1631, Bruton in 1683 and Fr. Barbier in 1723 referred to this port as being in the possession of the Portuguese.[1] In the early part of the seventeenth century they built there a church and a residence. Probably after the siege of Hooghly by the Mughals in 1632 Pipili became once again their main resort for a short period. Next to Pipili there was another Portuguese settlement also in Balasore. Fakir Mohan Senāpati (1843-1918), the great Oriya novelist, wrote in one of his memoirs about the activities of the Portuguese in his native town of Balasore.[2] He also stated that as late as his days, remnants of the Portuguese settlement and a few old Luso-Indians were still found there. At one time this port was famous as a slave-market of the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates. Besides these two permanent settlements we do not find traces of any other Portuguese settlement in Orissa. But their activities were not certainly confined to these two ports only. Since the Portuguese ships commanded the whole sea-board from Vizag to Chattogram, it is very likely that they had commercial relations with other ports too. As a matter of fact in 1633 they had a conflict with the English merchants at Harishpur in Cuttack District where they tried to blockade one English ship.

2. On the basis of the above historical facts it can be well ascertained that there was a direct contact between the Portuguese traders and the Oriya speaking natives of Pipili, Balasore and Harishpur for a long time. As a matter of course some Portuguese words crept into Oriya through this direct communion during the 16th and 17th century. Although in Bengal

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[1] History of the Portuguese in Bengal-J.J.A. Campos, Calcutta, 1919, Page 98.

[2] Fakir Mohan Granthabali (Cuttack Students Store), 1957, p. 1083.

the Portguguese missionaries were instrumental in propagating their language and culture, in Orissa their activities are not noticeable. Perhaps only a few ecclesiastical words were introduced by them. Actually it is the English and the other European traders who introduced the maximum number of Portuguese words because at that time Portuguese was the Lingua Franca in all the European settlements of Orissa and Bengal, and the Europeans made themselves understood only in Portuguese. Afterwards, again, some more words found their way into Oriya through Bengali when Bengal and Orissa formed one administrative unit under the British rule. Considering these facts Dalgado has said, "The Portuguese influence on Oriya is chiefly mediate, through the intervention of Telegu in the south and Bengali in the north, though in former times there was commercial intercourse between the Portuguese and Orissa."[3]

3. So far a complete account of the Portuguese words in Oriya has not been properly prepared. In the 'Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages' only 30 words have been mentioned.[4] Similarly Campos has given a list of only 34 words in his book.[5] Among the Oriya lexicographers only Gopal Chandra Praharaj has been able to identify a good number of Portuguese words in the language although in some cases he has mistaken genuine Portuguese words to be Perso-Arabic or Deśaja.[6] Other Oriya lexicographers and Philologists have only made vain efforts to show the derivation of some of these words from Sanskrit instead of determining their Portuguese origin. Hence a list of 103 words is furnished here to show the actual extent of Portuguese influence on Oriya. These words have been collected from the following sources :

(1) Dalgado, Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages,
(2) Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal,
(3) Praharaj, Purna Chandra Oḍiā Bhāsākosha,
(4) Fakir Mohan Granthavali,
(5) James L. Taylor, A Portuguese English Dictionary, Stanford University Press, 1958.

In the list the Oriya words have been arranged in an alphabatical order and against each word the original Portuguese word has been mentioned with relevant notes.

4. Word list :—

1. āchāra	achar (pickles)
2. āta	ata (custardapple)
3. ānāras	anarás (pipe-apple)

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[3] Rodolfo Dalgado, Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1936, p. LXVI.

[4] Ibid, p. 493.

[5] Op.cit., p. 22.

[6] Purna Chandra Odiā Bhāsākosha, Cuttack, 1931-1940 (7 Vols.)

4.	ālkātrā	alkatrão (tar)
5.	ālpin	alfinete (pin)
6.	ālmāri/ālmirā	armário (cup-board)
7.	istri	estirar/esticar (pressing iron)
8.	ispāta	espada (sword). In Oriya it means 'steel'
9.	ingrej	ingrês (English)
10.	eriā	arrear (to ease off a rope), nautical used in source No. 4, p. 633)
11.	olandāj	hallandez (Dutch)
12.	kāḍābin	carabina (carabine)
13.	kaḷāpāti	calafate (caulker) nautical, used in source No. 4, p. 600
14.	kākatuā	catatua (parrot)
15.	kāja	casa (button-hole)
16.	kāju	caju (cashew-nut). In Orissa it is ordinarily called as—bājāāmba, lankā āmba
17.	kānestarā	canastra (canister)
18.	kāptān	capitão (captain)
19.	kāflā(?)	acafelar (to plaster). A particular locality in Cuttack city is called now Kafla Bazar.
20.	kābār	acabar (to finish) used more in game of cards
21.	kāmarā	cāmara (room)
22.	kāmij	camisa (shirt)
23.	kirāni	escrevente (clerk). Indo-Portuguese form—carrane may be the source of the Oriya word. (Dr Shivnath, Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Vol. 66, Nos. 2-4)
24.	kiricha	cris (bayonet)
25.	kedārā	cadeira (chair), used more in the Bengali community
26.	kobi	couve (cabbage)
27.	krusa	cruz (Cross) ecclesiastical
28.	garanāḷa	grananda (grenade)
29.	gāmla	gamela (wooden bowl, porringer). It means a brass pot of a particular shape. It is also called—gāngulā, gangāḷa.
30.	gārada	grade (grting, railing). It means a lock-up also in Oriya.
31.	girjā	igreja (church).
32.	guduṛi	In source No. 3 the origin of the word is said to be Portuguese *godris (a bed-quilt made of rags sewn together). It is in use only in Balasore area.
33.	godāma	gudão (ware-house)

34. gorāpa	garopo (a kind of sailing vessel) used in source No. 4, p. 615
35. cābi	chave (key)
36. chāpā(?)	chapa (print)
37. jānlā	janela (window)
38. juā(?) (Skt. dyuta) c.p.	jogar (game of chance, gambling)
39. julāpa	jalapa (purgative)
40. ṭānki	tanque (cistern, reservoir)
41. ḍingā	alfāndega (customs house). In Balasore even now places are identified as 'Farasi ḍingā', 'Olandāj ḍingā' etc.
42. tauliā	toalha (towel)
43. tasalā	tigela (shallow earthen pot to boil rice, small bowl). In Orissa it means now a wide-mouthed brass cooking pot.
44. turunga	tronco (trunck). Originally it meant a prison, now its meaning is steel box.
45. turuph	trunfo (trump)
46. telāṇi	talha (large earthen ware jug or pot). Cp. Bengali—tolo, taluya. In Oriya it means now an earthen lid for covering pots or a frying pan
47. nilāma	leilão (auction sale)
48. neuā	anona (bullock's heart, Taylor—sugar apple), Cp. Beng. nona
49. papeyā	papaia (papaw). In Orissa it is generally called—amṛtbhanḍā
50. parāta	prato (plate) a big metal plate or tray
51. pāo-ruṭi	pão (bread, loaf)
52. pāti hamsa	pato (goose). In source No. 3 it has been shown that—pāti—is a dimunitive affix, probably derived from Skt. 'patri' or 'patraka'. Its use in Oriya can be seen in forms like—pātisiāḷi—(fox), Pātimānkaṛa (ape). But both Dalagodo and Campos have enlisted it as a Portuguese word.
53. pādri	padre (priest)
54. pimpā	pipa (barrel, cask)
55. pirika	prego (nail)
56. pistala	pistola (pistol)
57. pe:rā/pe:ṛā	pera (guava)
58. peru	peru (tunkey). This word is now obsolete in Orissa.

59.	phaṭakā	foquete (cracker, fire cracker)
60.	pharamā	forma (form, mould)
61.	pharāsi	frances (French)
62.	phitā	fita (ribbon)
63.	phundal	funil (funnel)
64.	baiyā	boião (a large mouthed jar—Taylor). It is also called 'bam', 'bayām', in Oriya.
65.	bankasāḷa	bangacal (ware house, customs house) used in source No. 4
66.	baṭā/Baṭi	batão (difference in exchange). It is used in Oriya now in the sense of commission or extra payment.
67.	batāli	batel (life-boat) used in Source No. 4, p. 630
68.	bambā	bomba (water-momp). It is also called pampara in Oriya, which means deep hole, abyss.
69.	baiā	boia (buoy)
70.	baragā	verga (rod, rafter)
71.	balanga(?)	balão (species of rowing vessel). The river near Balasore is called Balanga. Its source might be balão.
72.	bāmpha	bafo (vapour)
73.	baranḍā	varanda (verandah)
74.	bālti	balde (bucket)
75.	bāsana(?)	bacia (plate, Taylor—basin, wash bowl). In Oriya it means cooking utensils in general.
76.	binti	vinte (twenty). It is a very poular game of cards. In this game if one party produces a 'binti' (three consecutive cards of one colour) the opposite party is to show 20 more points for that.
77.	biskuṭ	biscoito (biscuit)
78.	behelā	viola (violin)
79.	botala	botelha (bottle)
80.	bomā	bomba (bomb)
81.	bombāṭiā	bombardeira (pirate)
82.	Malāi (?)	malho (sauce, gravy)
83.	masṭur/Mustar	mostra (sample, pattern)
84.	mārkā	marca (mark)
85.	mārtel	martelo (hammer)
86.	māstul	mastro (mast)
87.	mistri	mestre (master, Taylor—expert)

88.	mutā (?)	mura (a measure). Mutā is also found in Malay language. In Orissa 'mutā' is used as a unit of measure for measuring sugar-cane juice and molasses. In Ganjam area it means a small jar.
89.	meja	mesa (table)
90.	Jisu	Jesu (Jesus)
91.	rasid	recibo (receipt)
92.	rāmesu	armada (a fleet of war vessel). The Portuguese priates were called 'Raemsu' in Orissa. The origin of the word is probably—'armari-sipai' which means soldiers of the Armada vessel.
93.	latā	lata (tin). In the form—luhālatā—perhaps 'latā' stands for tin in Oriya.
94.	sankuā	arsenica (arsenic)
95.	sangāṛa	jangada (Taylor—a raft, esp., a very sea-worthy kind of catamaran used by fisherman off the coast of north eastern Brazil) used in Source No. 4, p. 618.
96.	sapeṭā	zapota (sapote)
97.	sāgu	sagu (sagu flower)
98.	santarā	cintra (orange, a type of). In Orissa it is ordinarily called "silet kamaḷā".
99.	sābun	sabão (soap)
100.	sāyā	saia (petticoat, skirt)
101.	sālsā	salsa (sauce, sarsa parilla)
102.	surti	sorte (lottery). The word is now obsolete in Orissa
103.	sulup/Slopā	chalupa (sloop). Used in Source No. 4, p. 599

The Interest Evinced By The Hindus of Gujarat in the Study of Persian Language and their Contribution to Persian Literature

By

C. R. NAIK

When Turks, Iranians and Mughals came to India as conquerors or settler, their official language was Persian. In spite of the fact that the Hindus were[1] parts of administrative machinery, especially in the revenue department of the provinces ruled by the Muslims, they do not seem to have made any noteworthy study of Persian[2] because they were required to work in their own tongue. However, it was only in course of time through the study of Persian that some of them could play a distinguished role in the administration of India.[3]

Among the Hindus, the Kāyasthas being by nature adaptable to new circumstances, pushing, astute and fond of power and position, were the first to concede its study when aksed by Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1489-1517) who was afoot championing the cause of Persian. In the reign of Shershah (d. A.D. 1545), they made a good progress in this direction and after the promulgation of the order of Todar Mall in A.D. 1582 to have all papers written in Persian (instead of one set in Persian and a duplicate set in the local language as under Shershah), many Hindus who had attained efficiency in Persian came forward to meet the demand and probably they were the Kāyasthas.

In Gujarat, there is only one known example of a personage of the Nāgar community who is believed to have studied Persian during those days and it was Malik Gopi of Surat, who founded the 'purā' (i.e. locality) called Gopipurā (which still perpetuates the memory of its founder) and who enlarged a pond, lining it with stone, which has now disappeared with its environments, leaving its name behind. He was raised to power by Mahmūdshāh I (Begadā) (A.D. 1459-1511) the Sultān of Gujarāt and later made a great minister at his court during the last years of his reign. He continued to hold the office during the first two or three years of the reign of the next Sultān Muzaffarshāh II (A.D. 1511-1526).[4] Such examples of Persian-knowing Hindūs are stray in the period preceding Akbar's reign. It was this emperor, it is said, who brought into Gujarāt the Kāyasthas at the close of the 16th century (A.D. 1573-1583) when it became a part of the Mughal Empire. Under the arrangements made by him, Surat and adjoining villages were administered by the 'Mutasaddīs'[5] of the Crown, who were the Kāyasthas deputed by the emperor. The Nāgars being intrinsically like the Kāyasthas emulated the example of the latter and took to the study of Persian and thereafter the Hindus of the Brahmakshatriya, Bhargās Brahmīn and other communities followed suit. As such many Hindus, by dint of their personal merits, shrewdness, dexterity and especially their proficiency in Persian could advance themselves into power at different states of Gujarāt and held offices of high position and trust and those were not a few who rose to the posts of diwans,[6] vakils,[7] baxis,[8] 'daftardārs',[9] 'munshis'[10] etc., which surnames their descendants inherited from the designations of their offices or from those of the officers under whom their ancestors worked.

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[1] Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 109.

[2] Dr Sayyad 'Abdullah, Adabiyyat-i-Farsi, Main Hinduonka Hissah, p. 8.

[3] Umara-i-Hunud, p. 135; Tarikh-Zakaullah, Pt. II, p. 378; Muarif (1918).

Even after inception of the British rule when the English was made the language of the government papers and court (A.D. 1829), Persian did not lose its hold in the minds of the Hindus and their literary trend remained the same.

Some people of the Nāgar community were greatly enamoured of Persian ; some members of the Rāiji family of Surat changed their original names to Mijlasrai (corrupted from 'majlis'), Sāhibrai etc. to have Persian flavour and thereafter several parents gave their children names with the same colour viz. Agidatrai, Murawwatlal, etc.

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[4] Sikandar bin Muhmmad (Manju), Mir'āt-i-Sikandari, p. 180.

[5] In the beginning of the Muslim rule in India, the word used to mean the highest official, on the harbour. Thereafter it was used for any officer inclusive of revenue officers. Later on, it was used for any common officer of the government.

[6] Under the Muslim rule, this designation was especially applied to the head of the financial department in the state or province. In the latter he was charged with the collection of the revenue. (Wilson's Glossary). In the last part of the Mughal rule, the diwan was the chief officer of the State. In absence of the Nawwab, he took care of the State in all affairs.

[7] The 'Vakil' was an agent or representative deputed by a particular state to work on its behalf in some other state.

[8] The 'baxi' was the pay-master of the army and disburser of all the public expenses of the government. He performed a multitude of military duties and may best be summed up as the secretary for war and pay-master in one.

[9] i.e., Keeper of records. This seems to have been the post of the accountant-general created by the Britishers in native-states.

[10] The position of the 'Munshi' in the Mughal rule was very responsible one. It was like that of a secretary. Upon his diction in correspondence depended largely the impression of the power and greatness of the state in which he was employed.

Sahibrai referred to above used[11] to recite his evening prayers in Persian. He possessed a choleric temper and used to get easily irritated. So even his family-priest[12] used to talk with him in Persian lest the plain truth in Gujarati should offend his master.[13]

Mithārām, one of the ancestors of the well-known Diwānjī family of Surat wrote the name and the address in Persian in the record-book of the Brahmin-priest at Trimbak, the place of Hindu pilgrimage near Nāsik.

It is so said about a Nāgar officer having a quick temper that while he was offering obsequial oblations to his manes during the obsequies[14] ceremony, the 'pinda's[15] arranged by the family-priest went aside due to the force of wind, he was excited and spoke out in an angry tone:

"Mādar-bakht[16] pindān kujā mī rawand?"

The ready-witted Brahmin-priest, too, was well-versed in Persian. He retorted extemporaneously:

"Ba Gayā namī rawand; ba Makkā mī rawand."

Abheram belonging to the Kāyastha community was very proud of his knowledge of Persian. One day a question came forth before the Nawwab as to whether the name of Āditrām begins with the letter '*ain*' or the letter '*alif*'. Nawwabshāhib as he was blunt of his brain as bulky of his body said:

"Bilā shak, mere dīwān ke khar main
Ma'mulī 'alif' kā isti'māl hargiz nahīn ho saktā."

In the meanwhile Āditrām happened to come up there. So Abherām said:

"Khudāwand-i-Ni'mat! Ādit-rāmajī hī se puchhīyye;
'Āditya' ka ma'nī 'Suraj' hotā hai aur voh Hindī
labz hai. Is sabab se vah kabhī 'áin' se Shurū nahin.
ho saktā.

On being questioned by Nawwabsāhib, quick-witted Āditrām got a clue from the tone that the former wanted him to say in response the letter 'ain'. So to act up to the idea contained in Shaikh Sa'dī's verse:

'Agar Shah rūz rā gūyad shabī hast,
be-bāyad guftan īn mah-o-parwīn'.

he said:

'bajā farmāte hain, jahān-panāh! bande-kā nām 'áin'
se shurū' hotā hai"

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[11] Narmadashankarnu Jivancharitra, p. 49 (Gujarati).

[12] In Gujarati 'Ger'.

[13] In Gujarati 'Yajman'.

[14] In Gujarati 'shradh'.

[15] Balls of cooked rice given as an offering to the dead.

[16] In Gujarati for the Persian, '*mādar ba khaṭā*'.

Nawwabshāhīb curling his moustaches on his success at winning the point, shouted:

"Hai koi hāzir? Phaink do is moḍi'i ko siṛhī se."

Abherām disappeared from the place and never boasted of his profound knowledge of Persian before any body.

Chimanlal Thāthī did the work of 'Akundaji' (i.e. tutor). As such, he was not financially so sound; nevertheless he maintained superb equipment (i.e. 'Thāth' in Gujarāti) and consequently, he was nicknamed 'Thāthī' (i.e. showy). He had a very good stock of Persian books and to preserve them inviolate from rats, he tamed a cat. To feed her, he asked his pupils to bring 'chapātis' and milk every day and did not charge them any tuition-fees.[17]

When the study of Persian was in vogue amongst the Nāgars, they used to play 'bait-bazi' in caste-dinners for witty enjoyments. Having got ready, in their own mode and manner, they started to recite verses one by one beginning with:

'Hast kilīd-i-dar-i-ganj-i-ḥakīm,
ba-faḍl-i-bismillāhi-r-Raḥmān-i-r-Raḥīm'.

One of the players spoke one 'bait' and another started his 'bait' with the ending letter of the previous one. When one of them committed a mistake the umpire uttered the Persian equivalent of inadmissible which meant the blunderer was to be dropped in the game. The players became elated as if with liquor and lost themselves in it.

The study of Persian was so common in this caste that they could have a sufficient number of people capable enought to take part in the game.

Also it was the custom among the Kāyasthas and the Nāgars of Surat to gather together[18] in a certain place and recite 'Qasidahs' as in 'Musha'arah's'.

During those days as people could conveniently be absorbed in the services of native-states on account of their study of Persian, there had become prevalent among the Gujaratis, a proverb:

Paṛhe fārsī beche tel
dekho vah qudrat ka khel

Persian had, as such, become so prevalent and common amongst the Gujaratis and they had probed so deep into that language and its literature that their profound knowledge thereof led them to compose in their own tongue the poetic forms in imitation of 'ghazal', 'rekhtah', 'qawwali', 'musaddas' and 'rubā'i' and even today they are popular forms with the same Persian names among growing Gujarati poets.

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[17] Madyakālin Sahitya Pravah, p. 207.

[18] Narmadashankar-nu Jivan-charitra, p. 49 (Gujarati).

During the whole of the Mughal period, the proficiency in the composition of Persian poetry, compilation of history in Persian and the study of Persian literature was reckoned as the mark of scholarship. So many Hindus of Gujarat took to the attainment of the same. Those who had necessary learning and leizure naturally wrote in Persian.

It is beyond the scope of the paper to give a full account of the Gujarati Hindus who played a distinguished role in the field of the subject. So from the materials available, some details about the most commonly known among them have been given below:

Kavi Bhagwandas alias Bhau Murarji:

He was a Kāyastha of Surat. He was born in A.D. 1625. He was the 'diwan' of Mahabatkhan, the Nāzim of Ahmedabad (A.D. 1661-1666).[19] Thereafter he was appointed 'diwan' of the Nawwab of Surat. Having lived a very glorious political and literary life, he died in A.D. 1690.

He was a sparkling star of great effulgence in the literary firmament of Gujarat. He wrote several works in Persian but except one entitled Rahatu'r-Ruh all remained hidden in obscurity.

Jagjivandās:

He was a Nāgar. His father's name was Manohardās.[20] Jagivandās worked as the Mir Munshi of Muhammad Beg Khān,[21] the then NAIB-Subadar of Gujarat. Thereafter he was appointed Waqāi'-nawis of Rajpipla, the then native state. He was later on posted as the port-commissioner of Surat.

After joining the royal service in A.D. 1693, he started to record daily events known to him and in A.D. 1708 he completed the compilation of his Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh. In it, except the portion relating to Bahadurshah, the remaining account is the mere copy of the Lubba't-Tawārīkh[22] of Ra'i Bindrāban with slight alterations here and there.

Ishwardas:

He was a Nāgar belonging to Pātan in North Gujarat. Upto the age of thirty years, he was in constant attendance upon Abdullah the Shaikhu'l-Islam (i.e. Chief Qazi) of the Empire. In A.D. 1684 when 'Abdullah set out on a pilgrimage to Macca, Shuja'at Khan[23] the Nāzim of Gujarat (A.D. 1686-1701) employed Ishwardas as Amin[24] and Shiqqadar[25] in certain Mahals of Jodhpur Parganah. Later on he was elevated to the position of the mansabdar (i.e. military commandar) of 250 horses.[26]

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[19] Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad, Mir'āt-i-Muhammadi, p. 191 (Mustafa'i Press, Bombay).

[20] Dr Sayyad 'Abdullah, Adabiyyāt-i-Farsī-main Hinduon ka Hissah; Catalogue of the Raghubir Library, Sitamao, p. 20.

[21] Rieu, Catalogue of Persian, and Arabic MSS, in the British Museum, Pt. I, p. 231 (b).

[22] It treats of the conquests of Emperor Aurangzeb. It was written between A.H. 1101 and 1105 (A.D. 1689 and 1693).

Ishawardas had a very wonderful capacity by dint of which he could win the love and confidence of Aurangzeb as well as the later's enemy Durgadas Rathod, turning their enmity into friendship in A.D. 1694.

His Futūhāt-i-'Ālamgini is the contemporary history of Aurangzeb's reign (A.D. 1657-1707) from his rise to power upto the 34th year of his reign. It was completed on the 21st Rabiu'l-Awwal, A.H. 1143 (A.D. 1731)[27] when the author was aged 76.[28] The fact that he was not one of those lying flatterers of the imperial court has added to the importance and value of the book.

Dalpatrai :

He belonged to Ahmedabad, where his father Gulābrāi was employed as a 'mutasaddi'. He served for eighteen years under Maharaja Jagatsing of Udaipur (A.D. 1734-1751).[29]

His Malāhat-i-Maqāl is the collection of historical stories. He completed it in A.D. 1767. He also translated the Dinwan-i-Hafiz into the language of Rajasthan for the above-mentioned Mahārājā.

Diwan Ranchhodji :

This famous Diwan of Junagadh was a Vadanagara Nāgar. He was born in A.D. 1768[30] and died in A.D. 1841.[31] He was a great politician and was a very adventerous warrior.

He rendered yeoman's service to the development of the study of Persian in Gujarat. He had imbibed the spirit both of the Persian language and of its literature. He wrote much on widely different subjects.[32] The marvellous work, Tārikh-i-Sorath-wa-Hālār[33] has been very patriotically and poetically penned by Ranchhodji whose flashing genius has won for him an undying fame both in the fields of arms and in the realm of letters. In it he has given a brief history of Sorath and Halar upto the year A.D. 1839.

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[23] His original name was Muhammad Beg. He belonged to Herat. He died in A.H. 1113 (A.D. 1701) (Ma'āṭhir-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 441).

[24] An officer employed either in the revenue department to take charge of an estate or collect revenues on account of the government or to investigate and report their amount. (Wilson's Glossary).

[25] An officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land under the Mughal Government (Wilson's Glossary).

[26] Mir'at-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I, p. 333.
Dibacha-i-Futūhat'i-Alamgini.

[27] Rieu-British Museum Catalogue, p. 269 (*a*).

[28] Nagarotpatti, p. 89 (Gujarati).

[29] Tod-Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Pt. I, p. 482.
Rieu-Catalogue of Persian & Arabic MSS. in the British Museum Vol. II, p. 1005 (b).

[30] Ranchhodji Diwan-nu Jivancharitra, p. 18, (Gujarati).

[31] Raja Chhabilaram Bahadur, p. 43.

[32] Ranchhodji Diwan-nu Jivancharitra p. 19, (Gujarati).

Its MS. copy in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society begins with the usual formula of Bismillah-i-Rahman-i-Rahīm but with the invocation to the Hindu God Banam-i-Shahkar Jagan-nath.

From the Ruqat-i- Ranchhodji, the reader can have an idea as to how letters were writeen in Persian in Gujarat.

His Jang-na-ma-i-Holi is the pen-picture of the Holi Festival of the Hindus.

He was the first person to translate the Kārn Parv and Aswamedh Parv into Persian after the rendering of the Mahabharata was done into Persian under the joint efforts of Badauni, Naqib Khan, the learned Faidi, the renowned poet Mulla Shiri,[34] Haji Sultan and others.

Sarabhai and his Family:

Sarabhai was a Vadanagara Nāgar of Ahmedabad. Several members of his family rendered unique services to Persian literature.

Sarabhai who, on account of the stringent circumstances of the family, in his boyhood had to purchase his instruction in Persian by performing menial work of fetching out a hundred buckets of water from a well at his Akhundji's house every day, rose in A.D. 1827 mainly by his personal merits, industry and individuality to the influential post of 'Daftardar' to the Resident of Baroda the highest post open in his times to natives under the British rule.

His work entitled the Ahwal-i-Gaekawar[35] is the history of the rule of the Marathas in Gujarat. There is the vivid description of methods adopted by them for levying the chauth (¼ part) and sardeshmukhi (1/10 part) and of the tyrannical measures and unruly behaviour of their armies in Ahmedabad and Malwa. The history has been brought upto A.D. 1752, beginning it with the domination of the Marathas in Gujarat.

His Mukhtasar Tārikh-i-Gujarat[36] is the history of Hindu kings, Sultans and Nazims of Gujarat and the supremacy of the Marathas upto the domination of the Peshwas.

Chhotamlal, the brother of Sarabhai was an erudite scholar of Persian.

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[33] An MS. copy in the Catalogue of Persian and Arabic MSS. in the British Museum. (Vol. III, p. 1041) prepared by Charles, Rieu.

[34] Mulla 'Abdu'l-Bāqi Nahawandi-Ma'āṭhir-i-Rahīmi, Vol. III, p. 1112.

[35] Catalogue of Persian and Arabic MSS.—Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection No. 244-129.

[36] Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS.—Gujarat Vidya Sabha collection, No. 254-146.

He translated[37] into Gujarati, Mir'-at-i-Ahmedi, Mur'at-i-Sikandari and Khulasatu't-Tawārīkh.

Bholanath (birth A.D. 1822 and death A.D. 1886), the son of Sarabhai was a prominent reformist and a born Gujarati poet and prose-writer. The Madanu'l-dusha[38] compiled by him contains letters written by Sarabhai to him. The collection has been divided into four maktabs. In all there are 241 khaṭṭs in the work.

Kishordas Desai :

He belonged to the Bhārgāo Brahmin community. He was attached to the government of Mirza 'Abdullah Beg also known as Nek 'Ālau Khan, Nawwab of Broach in his Dāru'l-Insha (or Chancellary).

The Majmooa'-i-Danish[39] compiled by Kishordas contains petitions written on behalf of the last two Nawwabs of Broach to Delhi, letters written to Nawwab Shuja'u'd-Daulah and other nobles of the Delhi court, letters written to local officers and in the end there are interesting invitation-cards addressed by Lalluram[40] to the Hindu kings, Nawwabs, high officers and eminent personages of different places like Jaisalmer, Surat, Ujjain, Bombay, and Poona every one written in a different way in conformity with the status and caste of and the relations with the addressee, on the occasion of the marriage-ceremony of his son Naraindas and daughter Icchchhakuvar. There are interesting details in them e.g. in the cards addressed to Muslim individuals, there is no mention of the name of the daughter as amongst the Muslims the female relatives are deemed to be too sacred to be brought in the glaring and unholy light of publicity ; to the rajahs and nawwabs he writes, 'A sagacious man cannot entertain the desire that a destitute drop should become the host of the Ocean Uman ; your attending the ceremony will be like the boundless favour of His Majesty Sulaiman to the ant ; it will be as if Shri Krishnaji Kanaya went to the house of Vidurji as a guest and gratified him by accepting whatever victuals were ready.

Gulābrai :

Gulābrai son of Bābūrāi, son of Ḳirpārām belonging to the Vadanagara Nāgar community composed poems entitled Renamah and Wāwnamah.

The Rehamab consists of ghazals all verses of which end in the radif 're' and hence the name. In it, the first letter of every verse of the first ghazal is 'alif', of the second, 'be' and so forth. There is one ghazal for every letter of the Persian alphabets and there are three verses in every ghazal.

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[37] Twenty three volumes each of 1½ × ¾ft. are in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

[38] Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS.—Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection, No. 216-81.

[39] A MS. copy with Shri K. M. Munshi, Ex-Governor of U.P.

[40] He was the chief administrator of Broach during his age.

The composition of his Wāwnamah has the same arrangement. The Re-namah begins with the following ghazal:

Ay naqsh-ṭarāz-i-gulshan-i-dahr,
roshan-kun-i-māh-o-chihra-i-mihr;
Ay shāh-i-shahān-i-chahār āfāq
bāni-i-jahān-o-haft akhtar;
Ay khāma-kash ze āb bar khāk,
Jam'i tū kunī chahār unsar.

Mehta Madhavrao:

He wrote his Naw-bawa-i, Madhavi[41] to teach his son the art of correspondence. There are models of letters addressed to equals, superiors, subordinates, youngsters, relatives, etc. on different subjects. There are various kinds of official documents as well.

As for the form in which Persian was written in verse, it can be said, in general, that they at times reproduced the Gujarati ideas in their composition; but they did not ignore he very genus and essance of the language in which they were writing.

'Insha' got prominence in the period of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and later Mughals. They in the richness of historical materials offer an almost virgin field for the study of administrative matters.

The post of 'munshi' was deemed a special prerogative and was reserved for scholars who could also write a beautiful hand. Every one of the Hindu munshis seems to have been able to write Persian verses and epigrams in which the date of the event was yielded by total numerical value of the Arabic letters contained in the significant phrase or sentence, as calculated by the rules of 'abjad'.

These letters incidentally throw a flood of light on the social customs and political events of the period. In them, there are such phrases and expressions which have been coined by writers and there is the unusual admixture of Arabic and Persian words in them as in

hasbu'l-farmūda, dānāu'l-ghaib wa'l-āshkār,
'indu't-talāsh, indu'r-rasīd, hasbu'n-nawishta

Moreover, there is the use of so many Hindi words which make the perusal of letters very difficult, such as:

mandir (temple), *mahārāj* (Hindū-priest),
sargabāsī (the late), *parsād* (food offered to
a Hindū God), *laddu* (Sweet-meat balls),

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[41] Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS.—Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection No. 5-5.

bhojan (dinner), *dāl* (preparation of pulse),
yak panth do kāj (a bird in the hand, two in the bush)

Further there is the conspicuous tinge of the Hinduism (or Hinduiyyat) on the language used in their private correspondence. In so many letters, there are such expressions as :

Ba'd āsirbād-i-darāzī-i-'umr (after giving blessings for a long life); *darshan-i-Mātājī* (to have the blessings of the sight of Mātājī); *ba-har-do 'azīzān dida-būsī* (kissing on the eyes of both the dear ones).

Emulating the practice of Muslim officers who kept 'bayaḍ' (i.e. diary) to prepare from time to time periodical reports, so many Hindus cultivated the habit of recording in Persian noteworthy events in their 'bayāḍ'. They often contain comprehensive and valuable materials for the compilation of works on history and culture. Such diaries written by Hindus are found in various libraries, like that of Gujarat Vidya Sabha and of Haḍrat Pir Mahammadshah of Ahmedabad. The following example will suffice :

Shobharam, a Nagar inhabitant of Ahmedabad who was a poet had cultivated a habit of recording day-to-day events in his diary. Therein there is the event of the imprisonment of Farrukh-siyar. He has narrated in it the tortures inflicted upon him when he was in the prison. He was kept without food and water for some days, so that his life would come to an end. He was given poison thrice in his food but every time he vomitted it out. Failing to serve their ends, his enemies at last hanged him.

The importance of the Persian scholarship necessitated the copying of the works of the best authors with as much elegance and elaboration as their quality demanded, for the art of printing was unknown in those days. This process naturally led to a widespread taste among Hindus for beautiful hand-writing. And there are several manuscripts found in Gujarat, that have been copied by the Hindus, some of whom have added in the end after the date of copying :

'Har keh khwānad du'ā ṭam' dāram',
zān-keh man banda gunh-gāram'.
or
'Nawishta be-mānad siyāh bar sefīd,
nawīsinda-rā nīst fardā umīd'.

In this way, in the 18th and 19th centuries the Hindus of Gujarat furnished a large contingent of Persian scholars including poets, prose-writers, historians, calligraphists and those who combined in themselves literary merits with administrative capacities. Their performance is found to be very interesting and important in one way or the other even today.

Secular Activities of Buddhist Monks

By

BUDDHADATTA BHIKSHU

Every Buddhist monk on the eve of his renunciation should have to pray before the preceptor in the following manner: "Sabbā dukhā nissaranā nibbānasacchikaranatthāya imaṁ kāsāvaṁ gahetvā pabbājetha mam bhante anukampaṁ upadāyā'ti."—'Venerable Sir, out of compassion on me, be pleased to confer ordination, with this yellow robe, for getting rid of all sufferings and the attainment of Nibbāna. Nibbāna, in the Buddhist literature, has been described as a transcendental state, which can only be realized by eschewing all desires of worldly life and by constant meditation. In the Muni Sutta the Blessed One said:

> Santhavato bhayam jātaṁ niketā jāyati rajo,
> Aniketamasanthavaṁ, etaṁ ve munidassanaṁ.

Anxiety is born in friendly contact with the world, dust of impurity springs up in household life ; the state of being free from ties of home and friendship is the recluse's aim. The same idea is exalted in the Dhammapada : "Jhāya bhikkhu mā ca pamādo,"—'Meditate, O Bhikkhu ; do not be heedless'. And again it is said to the monk,—"Yamhi jhānaṁ ca paññā ca sa ve nibbāna santike",—'In whom are found both concentration and wisdom, he indeed, is in the presence of Nibbāna.'

If, to attain Nibbāna with the help of meditation be the sole object of a monk's life, wherefore is then the scope for him to discharge the worldly duties ? In our common sense we may think about a Buddhist monk in this line. But really it is not so what was always meant in Buddhism. The Buddha has given many a direction to his disciples as to how to discharge the worldly duties—"bahujanahitāya, bahujanasukhāya".

The unsocial and ascetic life was originally the ideal of the monk's life indeed, but the Bhikkhus diverged more and more from it. The cardinal principles of primitive Buddhism came to be modified later on in practice. Mendicancy at first was the rule,—"pindapata nissaya pabbajja". But the piety of lay devotees in so far as it desired to render service to the monkhood, acted to alleviate the rigours of mendicant life. The rule about living at the foot of a tree was rendered obsolete by the habit of living in monasteries. Āvāsa, ārāma and vihāra came gradually into existense. The resident monks used to receive endowments from pious Upāsakas, and sometimes even kings patronized monastic communities by remitting the revenue of donated villages (Mahāvagga, vi, 22). In the later period the monasteries developed into a new type, some of them becoming famous centres of learning. At Amarāvatī, Odantapurī, Sompurī, Vikramsīla and Jagaddala were established monastic universities, each with a full complement of libraries, schools of students, lecture-halls, monk-professors and students flocked to these places from all parts of Asia, far and near.

The following topics are being discussed as some of the secular activities of Buddhist monks, as permissible by Buddha:—

1. *Education:* In the primitive āvāsa, the texts of Buddhist scripture first took shape. Inset in the legends in which they are encased, one comes across a few realistic bits of description of the sort of life lived in the āvāsas. The night was spent till late hours at an āvāsa in earnest discussions and debates—some Bhikkhus reciting the Dhamma, the Suttantikas propounding the Suttantas, the Vinayadharas discussing the Vinaya, and the Dhammakathikas instructing on the Dhamma. The origins of the titles Suttantika, Vinayadhara, Dhammakathika, Āgatagāma, Dhammadhara which we come accross in the canonical literature, are obscure, but that they indicated offices and functions and were not mere honorary titles is evidenced by the occurrence of these names in a number of inscriptions which are all taken from the Stupas of Sanchi, Amarāvatī, and so on. Among the Bhikkhus, it seems, there were professors and specialists who were regarded as repositories of different branches of monk-lore.

It should be borne in mind that the āvāsas, when the manysided literary activities were going on, had yet become independent and self-supporting organizations. The Bhikkhus at the time lived a more or less wandering life. Hence the scholarly and academic work of the āvāsa was the common duty of the entire Sangha. When at the later stage sects began to arise among the Bhikkhus, this old learning was still recognized as the common basis of them all.

2. *Medical Help to the Sick:* The Blessed One said to Ānanda, the chief attendent of Buddha, "Ānanda, yo gilāmaṁ upaṭṭhati so maṁ upaṭṭhati",—'O Ānanda to serve the sick persons is to serve me.' The World-Honoured himself preached in his Kāśyapa Sūtra on the nature of human diseases, in which he said: "By failure of Four Great Elements (Catthari mahabhutani) in the body the following diseases attack a person. These are (i) sinking heaviness, (ii) the phlegmatic disease, (iii) the yellow fever and (iv) the rising breath or air (dizziness, or cold). In the Mahāvagga the whole chapter of Bhesajjakhanda is devoted to a discussion concerning disease and medicine. Accordingly the Bhikkhus are permitted to learn the medical science as Buddha had directed. It is again discussed in the Kāśyapa Sūtra that there were eight sections of Medical Science. These eight sections formerly were dealt in eight separate books, but lately a man epitomized them and made them into one bundle. All physicians in ancient India prac-

tised according to this book, by the name of Aṣṭāṅga Āyurveda Śāstra (A Record of Buddhist Practices, by I-Tsing, Tr. Takakusu, XXVII).

3. *Agriculture:* In Mahāvagga (vi, 39, 1) certain rules are laid down for guiding the agricultural rights between the Sangha and outsiders. In these rules we may find the conditions under which the Bhikkhus may derive benefits from the cultivation of monastic lands with the help of cultivators residing nearby. These are also cases where the monks may enter into agreements with the cultivators collecting grains for their sustenance. The following is an instance: "If seedlings belonging to the outsiders grow on the grounds of the Sangha, the Sangha might appropriate the crops after giving a part of the produce to the other party. If, on the other hand, seedlings belonging to the Sangha, grow up on the grounds of an outsider, the Sangha might likewise take the crops after giving some portions of the produce to the outsider.

4. *Storage and Self-cooking:* The āvāsa where, on ordination the monks settles down, was a Bhikkhu colony with fixed boundaries. When the Bhikkhus formed a dispersed body of wandering mendicants there could be no question of joint storage of provisions. At the time of scarcity at Rājagaha, the old rules were relaxed (Mahāvagga, vi, 17, 7). Storage of food became necessity for the purpose of keeping up the establishment. The Buddha therefore, set a new rule,—"Anujānāmi bhikkhave, samaṁ pacituṁ, anujānāmi bhikkhave, anto vutthaṁ, anto pakkaṁ sāmaṁ pakkaṁ (Mahāvagga, vi, 28),—"I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook of your own accord. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to cook indoors, and of your own accord, food kept indoors".

5. *Use of Property in the Monasteries:* According to the Pacittiya rule 28, property given to the Sangha could not be appropriated by an individual. This principle of communal ownership of property is emphesized in the Mahāparinibbāna-Sūttānta (i, 11) where it is said,—"So long as the Brethren shall divide without partiality, and share in common with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a begging-bowl, so long may the Brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper". Regarding a salf-made āvāsa the Buddha said, If a number of Bhikkhus built, begging the necessary materials, a Vihāra for themselves, it would not thereby become the property of those Bhikkhus, but would belong to the entire Sangha, and any incoming Bhikkhu might claim a seat (senāsana) in that Vihāra as a matter of right.

6. *Executiv, Legislative and Judicial Functions:* We have observed that Bhikkhus were at first a dispersed body of wanderers,—men unentagled with social life or the political organisation of society. But this could hardly be said of the Bhikkhus of later times. At that time they continued to exist as a well-organised community. They were grouped in āvāsa and scattered over different parts of the country. Each Sangha living in an āvāsa was governed by the monastic laws. The Sanghas as corporated bodies had

to come into legal relations with outsiders and they exercised executive, legislative and judicial functions over each individual member. The Bhikkhu communities as it developed became virtually one of the constituent communities of the body politic. It possessed, above all, a well-developed and well-organized body of what it called Vinaya-law, but what in jurisprudence is known as a conventional law.

The republican form of rule which existed in the monasteries was not unknown in that age. The political constitution of many tribes in the area that first came under the influence of Buddhism and from where in early times Buddhist Bhikkhus were largely recruited was of a republican type. In these small tribal republics, the authority vested in monarchy and in a personal ruler, was exercised by an assembly, oligarchical or democratic. The people were familiar and conversant with free institutions like voting, committee, popular tribunals and collective legislation. K. P. Jayswal conjectures that,—"the Buddhist brotherhood, the Sangha, was copied out from the political Sangha, the republics, in the constitution". There are hints to this effect in the canon, as in the Mahāparinibbāna-Sūttānta (1, 6) where the Buddha on the eve of his setting out the last missionary tour, addresses a meeting of his Bhikkhu followers and holds up to them as example to be followed of the assemblies by which the Vajji tribe governs itself. Just as the formal source of all civil law was its promulgation by the State, so the formal source of Buddhist monastic law was its theoretic promulgation by the Buddha himself.

These were some of the semi-secular activities which Buddha had advocated as permissible by the Buddhist monks during the career of their ascetic life and the activities, according to him, might not stand in the way of their attaining the supreme goal of life-Nibbāna.

An Appraisal of The Doctrine of Bhakti

By

BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA

In India the chief currents of theistic religion have a long-continued history. The devotional schools of religion owe their origin to very ancient times. The period of the Upaniṣads had a history of its own; for the Upaniṣads must have been systematized in a period of ripe philosophical speculations. It is true that the Upaniṣads teach us a theory of pantheism and progressive but ultimate monism or non-dualism. But not only are the Upaniṣadic teachings surcharged with this idea and the allied but inalienable doctrine of the immanence of the Self or Brahman; but also they are the first systematic *Corpus* of religion in the sense that they also teach that God is the protector of all beings, is the lord of all and He is indwelling in all hearts (*sadā janānāṁ hṛdaye sanniviṣṭaḥ*—Kaṭha Up. VIth Vallī, 17th mantra). Moreover, it is taught that it is by contemplation and meditation on Him that the blissful condition of the individual Jīva attains to a state of complete harmony with the Supreme Brahman (*paramaṁ sāmyam upaiti* —Muṇḍaka Up. III. 1. 3.) and also that by seeing Him in everything and everywhere, one attains complete bliss in one's self.

Not only did the Upaniṣadic doctrines supply us with the rudimentary elements of pantheistic religion and of means of attaining Godhead, but the two later powerful forces, Buddhism and Jainism, also had some sprinklings of religious acceptance, although they denied the Soul as the Upaniṣads had explained. It is interesting to note that in a Pạli canonical text of the fourth century B.C. are given several schools, presumably of the then India, which worshipped different deities—beginning from the most animistic to the highly spiritual ones. The schools with the deities represented here are: "the Ājīvakas, Nighaṇṭhas, Jaṭilas, Paribbājakas, Avaruddhakas, the deities of those devoted to an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow; then come Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhadda, Maṇibhadda, Aggi, Nāgas, Supaṇṇas, Yakkhas, Asuras, Gandhabbas, Mahārājas, Canda, Suriya, Inda, Brahmā, Deva, Disā." It is interesting to note that in a Buddhist text, considered mainly as a heterodox one, the worship of Vāsudeva and Baladeva is placed on a very high pitch along with the then currents and schools of religious worship—heterodox as well as orthodox. As Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has aptly opined: "The worship of Vāsudeva was destined to become the predominant religion of a large part of India even to the supersession of that of

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fire, sun, moon and Brahmā and, of course, of the superstitious adoration of the lower animals." (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems,* Strassburg—1913 ; p. 3.).

The cult of Bhakti came from a very old tradition in India, and Pāṇini, the grammarian of India, about two thousand and five hundred years ago had framed the rule : *bhaktiḥ* (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyīsūtras :* IV. 3. 95). This mono-worded *sūtra* contains the meaning of the suffix which is to be super-added to a word in the first case in construction, when the sense is : 'this is his object of devotion or love'. Now '*bhakti*' in this aphorism of Pāṇini may mean 'serving', 'worshipping or loving'. It may be seen how this cryptic but pervasive aphorism had spread out in ancient times and how the cult or creed of *bhakti* became systematized in schools of high religious thoughts. In the very next aphorism of Pāṇini an affix might be added to a word in the sense of *bhakti* where it would be simple 'sensuous love', i.e. *āpūpikaḥ* (*apūpā bhaktirasya*) meaning 'a person who loves cakes'. Even words like *graiṣmaḥ,* 'a man who likes summer' or *sraugh-naḥ,* 'a man who loves *srughna* country', etc., might be formed in the sense of bhakti of the aphorism with suitable suffixes. This mere outward love about objects of pleasure was, however, an insignificant connotation of the very dynamic word. It came to be associated, by and by, with the Supreme Lord or God and 'worship' or 'veneration' was intended to be the meaning at least in association with words whose primary meaning was such. This will be clear from the aphorism of Pāṇini No. IV. 9. 98 (*Vāsudev—Ārjunābhyāṁ vun*) where the names of Vāsudeva and Arjuna as objects of veneration are taken as the basic words for the super-addition of the suffix (*vun*). Vāsudeva here is taken as the name of God after which the particular suffix will be added in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or worship', and the resultant form will be : Vāsudevakaḥ. There is, therefore, at the time of Pāṇini a definite indication that Vāsudeva was not merely a Kṣatriya (a warrior prince) but a god, if not the only God. This will become clearer from what follows.

The view that Vāsudeva was already at the time of Pāṇini, a name of God and not only of a Kṣatriya has been given by Patañjali, the great commentator of Pāṇini. At the time of Pāṇini there were ample words which were patronymic in formation after which some suffixes might be added in the sense of 'worship', 'love' etc. Vāsudeva might be taken as such a word. Then he was the well-known Kṣatriya prince of the Vṛṣni race, and Pāṇini's aphorism according to Patañjali's interpretation, makes Vāsudeva the equivalent Being as God. This might have been necessitated by the grammatical exigency as the next aphorism of Pāṇini (IV.3.99) would show ; but more than that must have been the prevalence of Vāsudevaism even in its rudimentary forms. This particular aphorism of Pāṇini (IV.3.98) would show us that a Kṣatriya's element of Kṣatriya becomes secondary when we look at him as the Supreme Being or Lord. But there are certain inscriptional records which are very interesting and revealing in nature, because they go almost to the times of Pāṇini and Patañjali, certainly pre-Christian. In some such inscriptions noted by Lüders (*List of Brāhmi Inscriptions*) we have the names of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, to whom as Lords homage was paid. The point becomes interesting even from the grammatical rules of Paṇini, of which we have discussed two successive ones (IV.3.98-99) above. Again, under Pāṇini's aphorism IV.1.114, Patañjali gives the two words, viz. Vāsudeva and Baladeva as derivatives from Vṛṣṇi names in the sense of sons of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. There may not be any misunderstanding that Vāsudeva should here refer to the son of Vasudeva, as this rule illustrates very well that Vāsudeva was here the proper name (even of a Kṣatriya prince) and his son was also to be known as Vāsudeva. Taking this Vāsudeva from the times of Pāṇini through the times of his commentators up to Patañjali, it would be amply clear that the Puraṇic story of Vasudeva as the father of Kṛṣṇa who even as God took His incarnation in his house and therefore was patronymically known as Vāsudeva, should be taken as later graftings on a very old and remote tradition of Vāsudevaism as a cult of *bhakti* in India. The association of Vāsudeva with Baladeva shows more clearly how Vāsudeva was to be taken as the proper name when the aphorism of Pāṇini IV.1.114 operates, and his son also becomes known as Vāsudeva, as the son of Baladeva becomes known as 'Bāladeva, or according to the gloss *Kāśikā*, even the son of Aniruddha becomes known as Āniruddha. Comparing this with the *bhakti*—rule of Pāṇini IV.3.98 quoted above, we may come to the conclusion already indicated that Vāsudeva was even at the times of Pāṇini, as is evident from Patañjali's evidence on his aphorism IV.3.98, the equivalent to the name of the Supreme Being and not merely the name of a Kṣatriya prince of the Vṛṣṇi-race. Thus also the view that Bhāgavatism in India is a later development is also nullified to a certain extent if we can say that its origin went much before the times of the advent of Christ.

Among the archaeological records we have three very important, and a few more minor, inscriptions from all corners of India which speak very clearly of the cult of *bhakti* as taking Vāsudeva to be a very holy appellation of God and His followers to be Bhāgavatas. The most interesting among these is the inscription of Besnagar in Gwalior State in Central India, wherein the Greek ambassador Hēliodōros (Hēliodōra) represents himself as a *Bhāgavata* (worshipper of Bhagavat or the Supreme Lord as Vāsudeva) and as having erected a *Garuḍadhvaja* or a column of Garuḍa on top, famous in all Vaiṣṇava shrines in India. Hēliodōros' story as given in the inscription is as sweet as a lyric, for he says that the Garuḍa column was erected by him in honour of Vāsudeva. He was the son of Diōn (Diya), an inhabitant of Takṣaśilā (Taxila) and was a Yona (Yavana) ambassador (*dūta*) of the King Aṁtalikita, from whom he came to King Bhāgabhadra who was surely a reigning monarch of Eastern Mālwa. This Aṁtalikita of the inscription must have been the great king Anatalkidas of the Bactro-Greek coins. This name and the characters definitely suggest the date of the second century B.C. for this inscription. Hēliodōra concludes the inscription by saying that three footsteps to heaven, viz. *dama* (*damaḥ*) of self-restraint, *cāga* (*tyāgaḥ*) or self-sacrifice and *apramāda* (*apramādaḥ*) or stability of the mind, should be practised. This remarkable inscription shows us, therefore, that in the middle of the second century B.C. there was a real living force of Vāsudeva or Bhāgavata religion and it was also so liberal at that time that it threw its gates open even to foreigners and professedly different religionists.

Another stone-inscription found at Ghasundī in Rājputana speaks of the erection of a *pūjā* stone-wall (*śilāprākāra*) at the Nārāyaṇavāṭa by one Gājāyana (?), son of Pārāśarī, in honour of *Bhagavat,* Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. This inscription also is believed to be as old as two hundred years B.C.

Yet in another inscription found at the large cave at Nānāghāṭ in South India, the names of Saṁkarṣana and Vāsudeva appear in a Dvandva compound. This inscription also is taken to belong to the 1st Cent. B.C. In this inscription which is in Prakrit, Īda (Indra), the descendants of Chaṁda (Candra), the four *lokapālas* Yama, Varuna (*Varuṇa*), Kubera, Bāsava, etc., are invoked along with Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva.

We can also refer to another Vidiśā (modern Besnagar) inscription of the Śuṅga period (*Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1913-14, p. 190f.) where it is mentioned that "The Bhāgavata son of Gotamī (proper name missing) caused a Garuḍa standard to be made in connection with the best temple of Bhagavat (Vāsudeva) when Mahārāja Bhāgavata (by religious faith) had been crowned twelve years."

Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in the Court of the Maurya Emperor Candragupta, also refers to the worship of Vāsudeva—Kṛṣṇa. This Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme God was developed in a system of religion of the Sātvata race, and Megasthenes also refers to the Sātvata race when he speaks of the prevalence of this form of worship.

It is, therefore, clear from all these evidences that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa worship as a form of religion was prevalent as a living force from the times of Pāṇini to the Maurya-Śuṅga periods, i.e., in the era long before the advent of Christ.

The prevalence of the twin-names of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, in the fashion of the twin-gods Mitra and Varuṇa, etc., of the Ṛgveda, in some of the noted inscriptions shows that two of the *vyūhas* or forms of the Lord out of the well-known four (Saṁkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha) are mentioned and that Saṁkarṣaṇa (*qua* Balarāma) is mentioned first. However, this superior and prevailing form of worship to Saṁkarṣaṇa gradually declined and was ultimately almost dropped.

It is also interesting to study the development of the concept of

Vāsudeva who stands at the head of the later *bhakti* cults of India. It is now admitted generally that Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva were one god, the Supreme Lord of the universe. The name of Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, occurs in the Chāndogya Upanishad (III.17) as the pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa (*taddhaitod Ghora Āṅgirasaḥ Kṛṣṇāya Devakīputrāya uktva*).[1] Kṛṣṇa was also the originator of a *gotra* called *Kārṣṇāyana*. This old tradition of Kṛṣṇa as the repository of highest knowledge and also the son of Devakī was associated in later Vaiṣṇavism, with Vāsudeva as the highest deity. It is, therefore, that Bhīṣma says in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* that the two reasons for showing the greatest venerations to Kṛṣṇa were that he possessed the knowledge of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas and that he was, moreover, a sacrificial priest. Vāsudeva was also identified in later Purāṇic times with the old Nārāyaṇa of Vedic and post-Vedic literature, the Supreme God and the Creator of all beings. Vāsudeva's identification with Viṣṇu was also complete in the epic period, though Viṣṇu was also a Vedic deity and his characteristics were quite different, i.e. he was a form of the Sun-god of the Vedic pantheon. It is for these traditions of the later Purāṇic times that in Chapters 65—66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* the Supreme Lord is addressed both as Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu and is idetnified with Vāsudeva.

In this connection the following remarkable analysis of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is worth noticing :— "... three streams of religious thought, namely, the one flowing from *Viṣṇu,* the Vedic god at its source, another from *Nārāyaṇa,* the cosmic and philosophic god, and the third from *Vāsudeva,* the historical god, mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism" (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*). The cult of Vāsudeva or religion of Vaiṣṇavism was most probably confined to the Sātvata race which accepted as its religious principles the ideas of a Supreme Lord of the Universe in Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and devotion to him as the means of spiritual salvation. It has already been said above that Megasthenes, the Macedonian ambassador, at the time of Emperor Candragupta Maurya also refers to the Sātvatas and their form of worship.

We have already referred to the view of Bhiṣma in the Sabhā parvan of the *Mahābhārata* wherein the reasons for the superiority of Vāsudeva are given. Again at the end of Chapter 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the same book, Bhīṣma says : "This eternal god, mysterious, beneficient and loving should be known as Vāsudeva, and Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras worship Him by their *devoted actions.* At the end of the Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali age, He was sung or expounded by

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[1] Other references to Kṛṣṇa in Vedic literature may also be cited—

(*a*) *Khila-sūkta* of R.V. (10/1)—*Kṛṣṇa Viṣṇo Hṛṣīkeśa Vāsudeva namo'stu te*

(*b*) *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇ* mentions Kṛṣṇa as an Āṅgirasa Kṣatriya.

Saṁkarṣaṇa according to the *Sātvata vidhi* (rites of the Sātvata race)." At the end of the twelfth chapter of Book III of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* it is stated in the accounts of the genealogy of the Yādavas and the Vṛṣṇis that Satvata was the son of Aṁśa, and all his descendants were after him called Sātvatas. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* represents the Sātvatas as calling the highest Brahman as Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (IX, 9 and 49) who commands a peculiar mode of worship to him. It mentions the Sātvatas along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis, which were Yādava tribes.

It is interesting to note that in the *Mahābhārata* already this religion is known as a forceful and living religion of *bhakti*. The Nārāyaṇīya Section of the Śāntiparvan of the same book is an informative source for the origin and prevalence of this religion in India. The Section contains the well-known story of Nārada's journey to Badarikāśrama to meet Nara and Nārāyaṇa. On his being told by Nārāyaṇa that his (Nārāyaṇa's) fourfold *Prakṛti* (form) are worshipped even by gods as the source of all creation, Nārada flew into the heavens and alighted on the peak of Meru. He saw there white men without senses, not eating anything and sinless, with their canopy-like heads and making a sound like that of thunder. Yudhiṣṭhira asked Bhīṣma who these people were. Bhīṣma narrated the story of King Vasu Uparicara, who worshipped the Lord according to the Sātvata *vidhi* (form of ritual). The latter part of the story gives us the account of the origin of this religion which was promulgated on earth on the mountain Meru by the Citraśikhaṇḍins, who were seven in number. They consisted of Marici, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha. The eighth to know it was Svāyaṁbhuva. From these eight emanated this best of *Śāstras,* which was promulgated by them in the presence of Bhagavat. The story of Vasu Uparicara's extensive horse-sacrifice is also mentioned and then follows the accounts of three sons of Prajāpati, viz. Ekata, Dvita and Trita, who told Bṛhaspati of their experience of austerities for four thousand years and odd and their hearing of the voice of God that in the white island (Śvetadvīpa) in the north there were men who did not eat anyhing and were solely devoted to God (*Ekāntin*) and realized Him only through the path of devotion. This *dharma* then was also to be known as the *Ekānti-dharma* or the *dharma* of the *Ekāntins*. The story of Nārada's journey to Śvetadvīpa is continued and he praises the great Lord by uttering His names. Here are given the names of Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, respectively representing the internal soul of all souls, all living beings, the mind, and self-consciousness. These four forms are known as the *caturvyūha* doctrine of the Bhāgavata religion and these form a philosophical background to it.

The nature of *bhakti* in the *Śāṇḍilya-sūtras,* a book of philosophical basis to the Bhāgavata religion, is set forth in details. In the very second *sūtra* it is said: *Sā parānuraktiḥ Iśvare*. This *bhakti* is equivalent to our common *love* for many things, but it is the highest form of love, for it is centred on God and God alone. That is what is propounded by the Lord in the *Bhagavad-gītā* in the following verses :—

maccittā madgataprāṇā bodhayantaḥ parasparam
kathaynthaaśca māṁ nityaṁ tuṣyanti ca romanti ca
teṣām satatayuktānāṁ bhajatāṁ prītipūrvakam
dadāmi buddhiyogaṁ taṁ yena mām upayanti te.

(Chapter X ; verses 9-10).

It is said at the same place in the *Śāṇdilyasūtras* in the very next, i.e. third, *sūtra* that one who has such loving faith in God attains to a state of freedom from bondage (*tatsaṁsthasya amṛtatvopadeśāt*). It is, therefore, the only means of salvation, as the Chāndogya Upaniṣad declares : *Brahmasamstho 'mṛtatvam,* etc. This text of the philosophical basis of Bhāgavatas, therefore, is the sourse-book of the later preceptors who have founded the different schools of the *bhaktimārga* (path of devotion) as the means of attaining supreme bliss and salvation. It is worthwhile to note that the nón-dualistic philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya which gives a secondary position to *bhakti* and the first position to *jñāna* (absolute knowledge) is very critically examined and discarded by the enunciations in this text.

The *Bhagavad-gītā* is from all appearances the earliest exposition of the Bhakti system or the *Ekāntidharma.* Much has been said and much more known about this grand text of the Hindus. It is more than well known that it contains the triple cults of *karman, bhakti* and *jñāna* and is a synthetic philosophy of all these paths. But it appears to us that here is a message of redemption which combines all the three strands in a harmonius whole and never at peace with each other. At the very beginning of Chapter III it is stated by the Lord that there are two paths, that of devotion to knowledge and that of devotion to action. Every human being is born for a life of activity, for inertia is the very negation of life. Hence the deeds done by an individual in the spirit of worship (*yajña*) and not for private gains, do not bind the individual down. It is said that Janaka and others obtained perfection by devoting themselves to this kind of actions. In Chapter IV again we find that the Lord speaks of the communication of this system to Vivasvat or Sun-god and of His being born again and again as incarnations, and assures us that those who know of His incarnations and the heavenly deeds He performs, are released from all birth. In Chapter X there is a well-known collection of verses wherein, questioned by Arjuna, the Lord expounds His *vibhūtis* among the individual groups of species of things. He goes on saying that He is the soul that dwells in the hearts of men, He is the Viṣṇu of the Ādityas, Kapila of the Siddhas, Prahlāda of Daityas.., Vāsudeva of Vṛṣṇis and Dhanañjaya of Pāṇḍavas. He concludes that only that object which has excellence of form and effulgence of spirit should be known to arise from His nature. Towards the earlier parts of this

Chapter we find that good men worship Bhagavat with pure faith, directing all their love and soul to Him, and that they, with their minds directed towards Him, enlighten each other and speak about Him. In this way they are contented and blissful. Herein we find a special characteristic of the Bhakti School, i.e. coming together (community) in the worship, glorification and propagation of the nature of God. In Chapter XII we again have a very forceful exposition of the tenets of Bhakti. The Lord herein speaks about those, who, with their senses restrained, concentrate their minds upon Him with meditation and faith, and thus become known as the 'best devotees'. He also speaks about those who similarly concentrate their minds upon the indiscrete, unchangeable, indefinable (Akṣara) Brahman and get their desired object, but this path is of greater difficulties. Hence the theistic conception of a personal God (Vāsudeva) to whom all worship with single-minded devotion on faith is directed, becomes in this Chapter, whole work, the key-note to the living religion of the Bhāgavatas.

In fine, we can just point out one trend of thought. Dr. G. Grierson, the eminent linguist and scholar of Indian Culture, once published a paper (read at the General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on 15 January, 1907) entitled "Modern Hinduism and its debt to Nestorians". Dr. Grierson's paper dealt with two distinct parts —the first ending with the capture of Alexandria by the Muhammedans in about 640 A.D. wherein he discussed the origin of the nativity festival of Kṛṣṇa and the idea of 'loving faith' or 'devotion' (*bhakti*) as a pre-condition of emancipation; the second dealt with the period of Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Rāmānuja of the twelfth century A.D. and extending up to the seventeenth century. In both the parts Dr Grierson tried to bring out the continued touch of Hinduism with the Christian communities and their doctrines, specially in the Nestorian school[2]; the first part touching the Christian tribes which were to be found in the North-West of India, at that time under their invasions, and the second part dilating on the community of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. But the startling revelations of Dr Grierson need a careful appraisal, for the community of thoughts is not a question of 'indebtedness'. The Hindu ideas of *bhakti* had gone much back into history, to the Vedic times to a rudimentary extent,—and Dr Grierson on a different occasion had admitted the following conclusion made by himself : .... in the *Ṛgveda* there are several hymns which contain sentiments that it is difficult to distingush from *bhakti*" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, p. 172).

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[2] Cf. "I proceed to show by an application of the comparative method........ .... that all these conditions of moral certainty are satisfied in this case, in favour of an Eastern Christian influence, especially of the Gnostic and Syrian cults in the early centuries of the Christian era, on the development of a particular branch of the Vaishnava creed." (p. 4, *Comparative Studies in Vaishnavism and Christianity*— Brajendranath Seal.)

The Remunerative Sequel of Dana in The Epigraphs and Literature of Early Mediaeval India

By

V. B. MISHRA

India has been entwined with religious practices since the very dawn of her civilization. The Vedic days of antiquity are steeped in varied religious practices which had invariably affected the Indian life in all ages and at every stage. The fundamentals were laid in the Vedas and later developments were details as conceived by the hoary sages by diving deep into the Vedic lore. The popular and metaphysical aspects of religion were as a result of interpretations and illustrations. The metaphysical concept made *karma-mārga* to yield place to *jñāna-mārga,* but the populace in general, excepting a few who had access to the original scriptures, was inclined towards practices which were preached from time to time. The concept of *dāna* (gift) originates mainly from two vital considerations: (1) to acquire religious merit in the life-time and after death and (2) compassion which too was closely related to the lurking feeling of acquiring *puṇya* (religious merit). A study of the socio-religious literature, epigraphs and accounts of foreign travellers bears out the growing faith of the masses in the efficacy of *dāna* to acquire religious merit. In the early mediaeval period of India, the royal grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Cālukyas, the Gaṅgas, the Colas, the Hoysalas, the Kadambas, the imperial rulers of Kānyakubja, the Pālas, the Senas, the Kalacurīs, the Candellas and the Cāhamānas throw a welcome light on the practice of *dāna.* The literary works like the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Purāṇas* composed during the period under consideration, the commentaries on the *Dharmaśāstras,* the Dānasāgara of Vallālasena, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa and the *Yaśastilaka* and *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadeva are mines of information to yield materials for the rising faith in *dāna* and its return. The Muslim travellers, Al Utbī and Alberūnī, also record the practice in their accounts. It appears that before the curtain was dropped on Hindu India in the political arena, the practice of *dāna* had well permeated the life of the Hindus.

General occasions for floating gifts were *tithis* (auspicious days)[1]—the *uttarāyaṇa* and the *dakṣiṇāyana saṁkrāntis,* the *akṣayatṛtīyā, kapilā-*

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[1] EI, VIII, p. 159 ; Ibid., VII, pp. 88-99 ; Ibid., VI, p. 287 ; Ibid., p. 260 ; Ibid., IV, pp. 260, 355 ; Ibid., III, p. 54 ; Ibid., V. p. 23 ; IA, XVIII, p. 35 ; Ibid., XII,

ṣaṣṭhī, sarvapitṛamāvasyā, siddhiyoga, rathasaptamī, vijayasaptamī, mahā-kārtikiparvan, mahāvaiśākhī, lunar[2] or solar[3] eclipse, *ṣodaṣasaṁskāras*[4]—*garbhādhāna* (the ceremony of impregnation), *puṁsavana* (the ceremony to ensure the birth of male progeny), *śīmantonnayana* (the ceremony of parting the hair), *śoshyanti-homa* (performance of a homa which was meant for easy delivery on the part of the wife), *jātakarman* (the ceremony performed at the birth of a child), *niṣkramaṇa* (the ceremony of taking out a child for the first time into open air), *nāma-karaṇa* (the ceremony of naming the child), *pauṣṭika-karman* (the ceremony for the nutrition of the child), *anna-prāśana* (the ceremony of giving a new-born child solid food to eat for the first time), *naimittika-putra-mūrdhābhighrāṇa* (the ceremony of occasional smelling of the son's head by the father), *cūḍākarṇa* (the ceremony of tonsure), *upanayana* (the ceremony of investing the boy with the sacred thread), *sāvitra-caru-homa* (the ceremony of offering oblations with *caru* to *Sāvitrī*), *samāvartana* (the ceremony on the student's return from his teacher's house), *vivāha* (marriage), and *śāla-karman* (the ceremony on the occasion of entrance into a newly built house), performance of *prāyaścitta* (penitential rites) and when people repaired to places of pilgrimage. It was customary to make grants with the libation of water after bathing in a sacred river.[5] As models of donors were invoked Bali, the king of the *Daityas* of *Sat-yuga,* Bhārgava of the *Tretā* and *Karṇa,* the king of Champā, of the *Dvāpara.* The *Manu-saṁhitā,* which was composed much earlier than the early mediaeval period, is a Hindu code of conduct and it has consistently affected the Hindu life since its composition. Some *smṛti* writers differ from Manu and have laid down their principles but the *Manu-saṁhitā* has remained an undisputed authority in Hindu society. Its agelessness is driven home from the fact that even to-day after several centuries of its composition and political vicissitudes through which India has passed, it is upheld as a code for the regulation of social and religious rites. In the early mediaeval period Asahāya and Medhātithi wrote their commentaries on *Manu-saṁhitā* which further establishes its use in the period under review. Manu says: 'The lord of created beings (Prajāpati) has declared that alms freely offered and brought (by the giver himself) may be accepted even from a sinful man, provided (the gift) had not been (asked for or) promised beforehand'.[6] He who desires to relieve his *gurus* and persons

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p. 112 Ibid., XIV, p. 200; *Laghu-sātātapa-smṛti,* V. 147; JBBRAS, X, pp. 237 ff.; Ibid., XVI, pp. 112 ff.; *Viddhavaśiṣṭha-smṛti*—quoted by Hemādri, *Dānakhaṇḍa,* p. 72; *Nirṇayasindhu,* p. 162; Hemādri, *Dānakhaṇḍa,* p. 63; *Atri-saṁhitā,* VI. 7.

[2] EI, IV, p. 101.

[3] Ibid., p. 108.

[4] Ibid., pp. 105, 127; IA, XIII, pp. 131, 134.

[5] JASB, V (1922), p. 83; IA, XIV, p. 103; EI, XIV, pp. 194, 196; Ibid., XIII, p. 129; Ibid., XIV, pp. 198, 199.

[6] Manu, IV, 248.

whom he is bound to maintain, or wishes to honour the gods and guests, may accept gifts from anybody, but he must not satisfy his own hunger with such presents.[7] But if his *gurus* are dead, or if he lives separate from them in another house, let him, when he seeks a substance, accept presents from good men alone.[8] It is according to the particular qualities of the recepient and according to the faith of the giver that a small or great reward will be obtained for a gift in the next world.[9] One who wishes to marry for the sake of having offspring, one who wishes to perform a sacrifice, a traveller, one who has given away all his property, one who begs for the sake of his teacher, his father, or his mother, a student of the Veda, and a sick man—these nine Brāhmaṇas should be considered as *snātakas,* begging for the fulfilment of the sacred law ; to such poor men gifts must be given in proportion to their learning.[10] The epigraphs bear out that personal scholarship of a Brāhmaṇa was counted upon at the time of bestowing gifts. The donee of the Dhulia plates of Dhruva is described as well versed in *Vedas, Vedāṅgas,* history, *Purāṇas,* grammar, *Mīmāṁsā,* logic, *Nirukta* and liturgy.[11] Manu states that if an opulent man is liberal towards strangers, while his family lives in distress, that counterfeit virtue will first make him taste the sweets of fame, but afterwards make him swallow the poison of punishment in hell.[12] After having bestowed a gift, one should not boast of it.[13]

The Brāhmaṇas[14] and ascetics[15] were invariably the recepients of gifts but they were also bestowed upon temples for their maintenance and repairs and funds by way of donations and charity were made available for public works. The villages or lands were granted free of rent and forced labour.[16] A copperplate inscription[17] found at Parbhani in the former State of Hyderabad records the grant of a village to Somadeva by Arikesari III for the repairs and upkeep of a Jain temple called Śubhadhāmajinālaya. The Arab traveller Al Utbi who was attached to Mahmūd of Ghazni records : 'The kings of Hind, the chief of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw to their God.'[18] The Shikarpur inscription records the construction of a tank and temple by a private individual who, for their upkeep, granted a piece of land.[19] The Partabgarh inscription referes to a gift of Dharapadraka village, with all its appurtenances, for repairs to and maintenence of daily services at the temple of Indrādityadeva at Ghoṇṭavarshikā by Mādhava.[20] The horse-dealers of Pṛthūdaka imposed a tax on the sale of horses for the benefit of three temples built at Kanauj and a fourth one built at Pṛthūdaka.[21] The *Yama-smṛti*[22] of our period lays down that men acquire the merit of *iṣṭāpūrta* by providing funds for public works like tanks, wells, gardens, temples, hospitals, poor houses, schools etc. For the purpose of a local tank, the Nargund inscription[23] records a voluntary contribution from the varied classes of people living in the locality. The Brāhmaṇas, for example, were to contribute one golden *paṇa* on the occasion of each *prāyaścitta* performed in the village. The Kalas inscription[24] refers to an assignment of fees received by the local Brāhmaṇas at the *prāyaścitta* ceremony to a local college for its maintenance. A college at Salotgi was maintained by a royal grant and the funds raised by voluntary contributions of the people.[25]

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[7] Ibid., 251.
[8] Ibid., 252.
[9] Ibid., VII. 86.
[10] Ibid., XI. 1. 2.
[11] EI, VIII, p. 182.
[12] Manu, XI. 9.
[13] Ibid., IV. 236.
[14] IA, XV, pp. 140-141 ; Ibid., XVIII, p. 34.
[15] EI, IV, p. 281.
[16] Ibid., IX, p. 5 ; Ibid., XIV, p. 186.
[17] Premi, Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa, Bomb., 1942, pp. 90 ff.
[18] Elliot, History of India, II, p. 34.

Usual objects of gifts were villages, lands, cows, gold, clothes, horses, bedstead etc. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga performed the *Hiraṇyagarbhadāna* ceremony at Ujjain.[26] Further, Dantidurga,[27] Indra III[28] and Govinda IV[29] made *tulāpuruṣadāna,* i.e. the gift of that much quantity of gold which is equivalent to one's own weight. Manu delineates the efficacy of gifts. He says: 'A giver of water obtains the satisfaction (of his hunger and thirst), a giver of food imperishable happiness, a giver of sesamum desirable offspring, a giver of a lamp a most excellent eyesight. A giver of land obtains land, a giver of gold long life, a giver of a house most excellent mansions, a giver of silver (*rūpya*) exquisite beauty (*rūpa*), a giver of a garment a place in the world of the moon, a giver of a horse (*aśva*) a place in the world of Aśvins, a giver of a drought-ox great good fortune, a giver of a cow the world of the sun, a giver of a carriage or of a bed a wife, a giver of protection supreme dominion, a giver of grain eternal bliss, a giver of the Veda (brahman) union with Brahman.'[30] According to him, the gift of the Veda surpasses all other gifts, water, food, cows, land, clothes, sesamum, gold and clarified butter.[31] It is declared that food must be given to others outside the sacrificial enclosure.[32] A king was exhorted to bestow jewels of all sorts and presents for the sake of sacrifices on Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas.[33] For others Manu suggests that one should give, according to one's ability, wealth to Brāhmaṇas learned in the Veda and living alone and thus the donor will obtain heavenly bliss after death.[34] For whatever purpose a man bestows any gift, for that same purpose he receives in his next birth with due honour its reward.[35] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[36] refers to the merit of the gift which king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa had obtained as a result of the gift given in previous life. According to Manu, both he who respectfully receives a gift, and he who respectfully bestows it, go to heaven ; in the contrary case they both fall into hell.[37] Efficacy of gifts had filtered down to the masses and the belief that wealth and learning cannot produce so much merit as charity[38] was an object of common belief in the early mediaeval period.

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[19] EC, VII, No. 284.
[20] EI, XIV, pp. 185-86.
[21] Ibid., I, pp. 242-50.
[22] I. 69-70.
[23] IA, XII, p. 224.
[24] EI, XIII, p. 325.
[25] Ibid., IV, p. 61.
[26] Ibid., XVIII, p. 243.
[27] IA, XI, p. 111.
[28] EI, IX, p. 24.
[29] Ibid., VII, p. 30.
[30] Manu, IV. 229-232.

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[31] Ibid., 233.

[32] Ibid., XI. 3.

[33] Ibid., 4.

[34] Ibid., 6.

[35] Ibid., IV. 234.

[36] Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (trans. M.A. Stein), Vol. I, Bk. IV. 229-232.

[37] Manu, IV. 235.

[38] IA, XVIII, p. 127.

Boons and Curses in the Ramayana

By

N. A. DESHPANDE

Boons and curses play a very important role in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the very first Sarga of the first, i.e., Bālakāṇḍa[1] we are told that Vālmīki got angry with a hunter, who had killed one of the two Krauñca birds that were about to mate. May it be taken that this suggests that Rāma and Sītā are to be separated from each other by Rāvaṇa, who kidnapped Sīta ?

One of the most important events that led to Rāma's renouncing the kingdom, going to the forest and the consequent abduction of Sītā is based on a couple of boons[2] as well as a curse.[3]

The boons are those that are granted to Kaikeyī by Daśaratha.

In the war with the Asuras, Daśaratha was badly hurt and was carried away from the battlefield in an unconsicous state by Kaikeyī[3]. At that time he had granted her a couple of boons. When Rāma was about to be consecrated as the heir apparent (Yuvarāja) Mantharā excited Kaikeyī who reminded Daśaratha of the boons he had promised to her. She desired that by one boon Rāma should go to the forest and by the other Bharata be consecrated as the Yuvarāja.[4]

This is, in an indirect way, supported by the curse pronounced upon Daśaratha by and old ascetic.[5] Daśaratha had gone a-hunting when, in the darkness, he mistook the sound of water made by the old ascetic's son, who had come to the lake to take water for his old parents, for the sound of water made by an elephant, which had come to drink the water of the lake, and shot the boy with his arrow. Daśaratha went to the old ascetic and his old wife and acquainted them with the mishap. The sage cursed Daśaratha that he would die of putra-śoka. This curse explains Rāma's going to the forest as a result of which Daśaratha was extremely grieved and later died of putra-śoka.

This curse and the boons granted to Kaikeyī have been very well conceived by the poet. They would together show that Kaikeyī alone is not responsible for the hardships Rāma was required to undergo, but that all the events were rather pre-destined.

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[1] I.2. 15.

[2] II.9., III-47. 6ff.

[3] II.64, 15, 16 53ff.

[4] II.9. 15 16.

[5] II.64. 54.

Similarly a boon and a few curses are responsible for the death of Rāvaṇa at the hands of Rāma and none else. After Rāvaṇa had practised penance for a long time Pitāmaha was pleased with him and told him to choose a boon. Rāvaṇa was very proud of his strength and being the least afraid of human beings requested Brahmā that he should be immune to death except when it was brought about by a human being.[6]

When Rāvaṇa started challenging every powerful king and was audacious enough to challenge even Yama, the latter was about to use his Daṇḍa against Rāvaṇa, when Brahmā intervened and told Yama that he should not kill Rāvaṇa because he had granted him (Rāvaṇa) a boon that Rāvaṇa would not be killed by any one except a human being.[7]

King Anaraṇya of the Ikṣvāku family and one of the ancestors of Rāma was challenged for fight and defeated by Rāvaṇa. Anaraṇya cursed him that one of his descendants, viz., Dāśarathi Rāma would kill him.[8]

The question why such a wicked and powerful king like Rāvaṇa did not rape Sīta has been very well answered by the poet by bringing in a couple of curses pronounced upon Rāvaṇa by different individuals.

Rāvaṇa saw Rambhā and being enamoured of her charm asked her to dally with him. She told him that she was in fact his daughter-in-law as she was going to marry Nala-Kubara, the son of Vaiśravaṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother. Saying that an Apsaras is never expected to be loyal to one individual, Rāvaṇa raped her. She went to Nala-Kubara and told him what had happened. He cursed Rāvaṇa that if he enjoyed a woman against her wish his head would be shattered to seven pieces.[9]

A similar story of a similar curse is told in the Yuddha-Kāṇḍa also. Mahāpārśva requested Rāvaṇa to enjoy Sītā in the manner of a cock (Kukkuṭanyāyena), i.e., against her wish. Rāvaṇa told him that it was not possible for him to do so because once he had raped the Apsaras Puñjikāsthalā who was going to Svayambhū's house. When Svayambhū came to know of this he cursed Rāvaṇa that if he again enjoyed a woman perforce his head would break into hundred pieces.[10]

The meeting of Rāma and Sugrīva is not a mere chance. For it also a curse pronounced upon Vāli by the sage Mātanga is in a way responsible. It so happened that a demon by name Dundubhi, proud of his valour, callenged Vāli. Vāli, who was more than a match for him hurled him in the air. He fell into the hermitage of Mātanga and by the blood-drops falling from his body the hermitage was polluted. The sage got enraged and taking Vāli to be responsible for the pollution of his Āśrama cursed him that if Vāli entered the region of one Jojana round about his hermitage, he would be no more and also declared that the ministers of Vāli who had resorted to his hermitage should quit it forthwith or he would curse them also.[11] Vāli, therefore, kept away from that region. Sugrīva sought refuge here and was sure that as long as he was within the limits of the Asrama he had absolutely no fear from Vāli.

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[6] I.16.6 I.20-16.

[7] VII.22 37ff.

[8] VII. 19.28ff.

[9] VII. 26. 13ff.

[10] VI. 13.ff.

This incident supplies the reason why Sugrīva was safe from Vāli.

Rāma's being helped by the monkeys is in a way connected with the curse that was pronounced on Rāvaṇa by Nandi. Once Rāvaṇa had laughed at Nandi as the latter's face was like that of a monkey. Nandi had cursed him that as Rāvaṇa had laughed at him he would be destroyed by monkeys.[12]

A passage from the Uttarkāṇḍa tells why Sītā was 'born' 'Ayonija'. Rāvaṇa saw Vedavatī, daughter of Kuśadhvaja, son of Bṛhaspati, in a forest on the Himālayas and sought her hand. She told him that she was Viśṇu's wife, but Rāvaṇa tried to seize her by her hair when she cursed him that as women cannot kill man she would be 'born' as 'Ayonija' and bring about his death.[13]

The cause for the Rākṣasas is also strangely supplied by the story of Yayāti and Yadu. King Yayāti had two wives. Śarmiṣthā and Devayānī. The king did not treat Devayānī's son, Yadu, well. So he requested his mother that instead of living in a miserable and wretched way they should commit suicide. Devayānī remembered her father Bhārgava, who came there immediately. Seeing his daughter offended by her husband he cursed Yayāti that he would be overpowered by old age and consequent infirmities.[14]

Yayāti requested his sons Pūru and Yadu to take his old age in exchange for their youth. Yadu did not accept it but Pūru did. After many years Yayāti took it back from Pūru and cursed Yadu that as he did not obey his father he would produce fierce demons.[15] That is how demons came into existence. The large-heartedness of Laxmaṇa is seen when he was cursed by Durvāsas. It so happened that Rāma was holding a private conference when Durvāsas came to see Rāma. He asked Laxmaṇa to take him to Rāma immediately. Laxmaṇa requested him to wait for some time. The irascible sage was not prepared to wait and getting enraged said to Laxmaṇa that he would pronounce a curse for the destruction of

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[11] IV.11.8 ff.

[12] VII.16.14ff.

[13] VII.17.1, 8ff, 20, 26 etc.

[14] VII.58.9, 15, 22 ff.

[15] VIII.105 and 106.

Rāma, Bharata, Laxmaṇa and even their progeny. Laxmaṇa implored the sage to limit the curse to his (Laxmaṇa's) death alone.[16] Later Laxmaṇa acquainted Rāma with the curse. This large-mindedness of Laxmaṇa brought him a great reward and that was that he was taken to heaven by Indra himself.[17]

A few curses are indirectly responsible for Rāma's greatness and his mission viz. destruction of a number of demons and emancipation of persons like Ahalyā.

Rāma and Laxmaṇa fought with the demon Virādha and ultimately defeated him. Before his death he told Rāma he was originally the Gandharva Tumburu, but due to a curse pronounced by Vaiśravaṇa on him he was transformed into a demon and was told that he would regain his original form on being killed by Rāma.[18] A similar story is also told about the demon Kabandha.

The famous Ahalyā legend also brings about the greatness of Rāma. Indra outraged Ahalyā, wife of Goutama. The sage cursed him that he would be seized by his enemies and that no Indra would be permanent. He also cursed his wife that thenceforth she alone would not be beautiful. On being entreated by her he softened his curse by which Ahalyā was to be pure again when she saw Rāma.[19]

That Rāma was to suffer separation from Sītā was also the result of a curse pronounced upon Indra by Bhṛgu. When Sumantra and Laxmaṇa were returning to Ayodhyā after leaving Sītā near Vālmiki's Āśrama as ordained by Rāma, Sumantra told him (Laxmaṇa) that formerly Daśaratha had asked Durvāsas about the span of the life of Rāma and his sons. Durvāsas had told Daśaratha that once in a war between gods and demons the latter being chased by the former sought refuge with the wife of Bhṛgu. Indra could not tolerate this and cut off the head of Bṛgu's wife. Bhṛgu, therefore, cursed Indra that as Indra had killed his (Bhṛgu's) wife he would be born as a human being and would be required to suffer separation from his wife.[20]

Hanumān's great strength and power are due to different boons granted to him by various gods like Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Śankara etc. As a result of these boons he had become invincible to Indra's Vajra or Varuṇa's noose, had no danger from water, had become immortal and free from any disease.[21] He was not at all proud of his great valour. His modesty, the

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[16] VIII.105 and 106.
[17] VIII.105 and 106.
[18] III. 4. 16 ff. and III.71.3 ff.
[19] VII. 30.32 ff.
[20] VII.51.1, 8 ff.
[21] VII.36.12 ff.
[22] VII.35.16 ff.

Rāmayaṇa tells, was due to a curse pronounced upon him by certain sages.[22] He did not realize how powerful he was.

Certain curses e.g. the one pronounced upon king Nṛga by two Brāhmins upon whom he did not attend and whom he kept waiting for many a day[23] and the other pronounced by Vasiṣtha upon Nimi, who broke his promise to appoint Vasiṣtha as his priest at a sacrifice by appointing Gautama in Vasiṣtha's place,[24] indicate how a king should be alert in attending to complaints and grievances of his subjects and keep his promise.

The story of Ila, the son of Kardama, explains the efficiency of Aśvamedha. This Ila was transformed into a woman as he entered into a region where Śankara was sporting with Pārvati. He implored the Lord and Umā and as a result of the boons granted by them he became a man (i.e. Ila) for a month. He would have led such a miserable life for a long time, had he not perofrmed Aśvamedha sacrifice and got himself liberated.[25] This story with the curse and boons in it, is cleverly used to show the great efficiency of the Aṣvamedha sacrifice.

The power of a curse has always been emphasized to be very great and it has been said that such power is achieved only after rigorous penance or that it is possessed by a chaste lady only. The sages for example, came to Rāma to request him to kill the demons who harassed them because they did not want to waste their penance to kill the demons.[26] The curse that Sītā pronounced on Rāvaṇa comes true[27] and shows that a curse pronounced by a chaste lady is bound to be true.

Even if it is maintained that the Uttarkāṇḍa is a later addition and therefore the boons and curses occurring in it have not a direct bearing on the Rāma-story yet the boons and curses in the other Kāṇḍas are a sufficient proof to show the great skill of the Ādikavi in using them to a great advantage for the development of the plot as is amply evinced by the boons granted to Kaikeyī and the curse pronounced by the old ascetic on Daśaratha or the one pronounced by Sītā on Rāvaṇa.

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[23] VII.53.7 ff.

[24] VII.54.10 ff.

[25] VII. 86.20 and 87, 88, 89, 90.

[26] III.11.7, 13, 14ff.

[27] III.48. 22, 23.

The Pre-Procreational Sanskars of Hindus

By

D. P. PANDEY

There is no trace about sentiments and rites, if any, regarding the procreation and its ceremonial procedure of the children in the pre-historic period. Later on with the growth of culture and civilisation the performance of certain rites was felt necessary by the Aryans. Thus Saṅskāras came into being. It is true that it must have taken a long period for the evolution of these Saṅskāras. Manu[1] and Yājñavalkya[2] have enjoined that the religious rites (Saṅskāras) of a man from conception in his mother's womb to the funeral should be performed. Gautama Dharmśāstras[3] prescribe forty Saṅskāras. The Gṛhyasūtras and the astrological works discuss the proper time of performing these Saṅskāras.

Scholars have expressed divergent views about the number of Sāṅskāras to be observed by men. Gautama has accepted forty Saṅskāras. Jātukarṇi accepts thirty-two only. The writer of Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra admits sixteen only. While Manu admits only ten. The view of Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra is more popular and convincing. According to him there are sixteen Saṅkāras as follows:—(1) Garbhādhāna, (2) Puṁsavana, (3) Sīmantonnayana, (4) Jātakarma, (5) Nāmakaraṇa, (6) Niśkramaṇa, (7) Annaprāśana, (8) Karṇavedha, (9) Cūḍākaraṇa, (10) Upanayana, (11) Vedārambha, (12) Keśānta, (13) Samāvartaṅa, (14) Vivāha, (15) Agniparigraha, and (16) Antyeṣṭi.

Out of them the first three Saṅskāras are performed before the procreation of a child. The first and foremost Saṅkāra is Garbhādhāna or Garbhālambhana. The rite through which a man places his semen in the womb of a woman is called Garbhādhāna.[4] Before the introduction of this Saṅskāra the procreation was a natural act. Men and women copulated whenever there was sexual demand for it. The primitive woman was a subjected creature. She was considered to be the projected slave of the comparatively stronger male. Men used to behave with women like animals to satisfy their sexual appetite. There was no restriction and taboo whatsoever about it. Any man could copulate with any woman when they felt the need for it, without fear for consequent conception. But later on when the woman became weak due to pregnancy and when the child was born, the problem of their maintenance arose. No male person was prepared to shoulder the responsibility. Thus it became a very serious problem for the Aryans as to how to deal with such cases. They thought out a plan for regulating unrestricted conception. This was the beginning of the Garbhādhāna Saṅskāra, which used to be performed in a ceremonious way. This Garbhādhāna Saṅskāra presupposes a well-established home and a regular marriage.

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[1] Manusmṛti, 11. 16.
[2] Yājñavalkya-smṛti, 1. 10.
[3] Gautama Dharmaśāstra, 24.
[4] Pūrva-mīmāṁsa, 1. 4. 42.

This Saṅskāra is discussed in detail for the first time in Gṛhyasūtras. According to this book, a man after his regular marriage with woman was to approach her when she was ceremoniously pure after her menstruation. But before the actual co-habitation for conception was performed he had no observe various types of vows in the presence of priests and other responsible persons of society collected there on that occasion. At the end of the vows and the connected rituals the pair entered a decently decorated room for co-habitation. Now the embracing began with prayers to God for helping the woman in conception. Thus the Garbhādhāna Saṅskāra is more a social ceremony than a religious one.

According to Gṛhyasūtra, only the nights are prescribed for co-habitation. Co-habitation in day time is strictly prohibited in as much as it is injurious to health for both man and woman, and it shortens the life.

Now, when the woman has become pregnant it became obligatory for the husband to look after her and to make all possible arrangement for her comfort. He was to fulfil the wishes of his pregnant wife.[6] Suṣruta, an eminent treatise on medical science, prescribes the following precautions to be observed by a woman during pregnancy : "From the time of pregnancy she should avoid coition, overèxertion, sleeping in day-time purgative and untimely postponement of natural flow of excretion urine, etc."[7] The Varāha Smṛti prohibits the taking of meat during pregnancy.[8]

It has been mentioned already that this ceremonious rite (garbhādhāna) was evolved to fix up the responsibility of procreating the newly born child and the mother upon a man who was responsible for the birth. Later on, by and by, the system of regular marriage was legalised and the function of this Saṅskāra could be fulfilled by the marriage Saṅskāra and then it became obsolete. Marriage as defined in Śāstras is a ceremony by which the husband and wife are legally bound together by mutual contracts and vows. According to anthropologists marriage is defined as a union

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[5] Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra, 17. 37. 41.

[6] Yājñavalkya-smṛti, 3. 79.

[7] Suśruta, Śarīrasthāna, ch. 3.

[8] Vārāha-smṛti, cited in Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra, 1. 15.

between a man and woman in such a way that the child born by a woman is recognised as the legitimate offspring of both the partners.[9]

Puṁsavana

This Saṅskāra etemologically means causing a male to be born. (*Pum* = male + *savana* = causing).

After the conception was ascertained the child in the womb was consecrated by the Saṅskāra named Pumsavana (quickening of a male child).[10]

In the Atharva Veda and the Sāma Veda Mantra Brahmaṇas we get prayer for male child.[11]

According to Gṛhyasūtra Pumsavana Saṅskāra is to be performed within the third and fourth months of pregnancy or even later when the moon is on a male constellation particularly on Tiṣya.[12] But according to Manu and Jajñavalkya it should be performed before the foetus begins to move in the womb. Jātukarṇi and Śaunaka say that it should be performed in the third month of pregnancy after the conception becomes manifested.

Thus it is clear that this Saṅskāra is only a precautionary measure against would-be female progeny. Probably the idea of having a female child was very dreadful to the parents inasmuch as the maintenance of a girl, the selection of a suitable match for her and finally giving her in marriage with a heavy dowry was, as at the present, a very difficult problem. A girl under the parent's care is, in fact, wealth of somebody else kept as trust (nyāsa).[13]

Simantonnayana :

This is the third Saṅskārá of the embryo. This is a Sāṅskāra in which the hairs of a pregnant woman are parted[14] and dressed by her husband himself.

The purpose of this Saṅskāra is partly superstitious and partly religious. People believed that a woman in her pregnancy was subject to attacks of evil spirits and in order to ward them off some cremonious rite was to be performed. The Āśvalāyana-smṛti has preserved this belief. It says that invisible evil spirits are bent upon sucking the blood of the woman in her first pregnancy, to devour the foetus and trouble her. In order to remove these spirits the husband should invoke the Goddess Śrī as the lurking spirit was believed to keep itself away from the woman protected by Her. The Vārāhagṛhyasūtra prescribes that a red mark should be made on the person of the pregnant woman to frighten the demon.[15]

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[9] Notes and Querries on Anthropology.

[10] Śaunaka, quoted in Viramitrodaya-Saṅskāra-Prakāśa.

[11] Atharva-Veda i. 4. 4-9.

[12] Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra i. 14. 2. and Baudhāyana i. 9. 1.

[13] Abhijñānaśakuntala ; kaṇyā parakīya eva.

[14] Vīramitrodaya, vol. I, i, p. 172.

The religious intention behind the performance of this Saṅskāra was to bring about prosperity to the mother and longevity to the unborn child as expressed in the verses recited on the occasion.

The physiological knowledge of the Aryans also seems to have been responsible for instituting this rite from the fifth month of the pregnancy for the formation of the mind of the would-be child being.[16] So the pregnant woman is required to take utmost care to facilitate this process by avoiding any shock to the foetus.

This fact was symbolically emphasised by parting her hair. Women are supposed to be relaxed when their hairs are untied and allowed to move freely.

Another purpose of this Saṅskāra is to keep the pregnant woman in good humour. It is popularly known that nothing gives so much pleasure to a woman as the contact of her husband in any form. It need not be repeated that the parting and dressing of the hairs in this Saṅskāra is to be done by the husband himself reciting certain mantras.

The Gṛhyasūtra, the Smṛtis and the astrological works discuss the proper time for performing this Saṅskāra. The Gṛhyasūtra prescribes the fourth or the fifth month of pregnancy.[17]

The Smṛtis and the astrological books extend the period upto the eight month or until the birth of the child.[18]

The Smṛti writers had realised that every conduct of an expectant mother influenced the would-be child in her womb. Therefore they laid down the rules and regulations for the aforesaid three Saṅskāras and they also prescribed certain duties of a pregnant woman and her husband.

The Mārkandeya-purāṇa, Matsya-purāṇa and Brahma-purāṇa describe at length such duties to be observed by the pregnant woman. The dialogue between Kaśyapa and Diti in the Matsya-Purāṇa gives valuable information in this connection.

Thus these three Saṇskāras pertain to the child in the womb whereas the rest of the Saṅskāras beginning from Jāta-karma to the Antyeṣti are to be observed after child has come out of the womb.

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[15] Vārāha-Gṛhyasūtra, 16.

[16] Suśruta, Sarīrasthāna, 33. 3.

[17] Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra, 1. 10. 1, Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra, 1. 14. 1, and Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra, 14. 1.

[18] Yajñavalkya-smṛti, 1. 11.

Bhatheli or Sori[1]

By

PRAPHULLADATTA GOSWAMI

I

In lower Assam there is hardly any dance and music of the Bihu type so common in upper Assam, but a special Springtime festival of this region is a fair usually held in the first week of Bohag. It is known as *Bhatheli* in northern Kamrup, *Sori* or *Suari* in southern Kamrup, also in Goalpara, and as *Deul* in the Darrang district. Deul, in Kamrup, is another name of Daulotsava or Krishna worship performed at Daul Purnima.

The chief feature of this Bhatheli fair is the planting of two green bamboos in a field in some village on a date fixed customarily. The fair does not seem at this date to suggest any Brahmanical prescription behind its performance. It is a one-day festival of a popular character, having at its centre no ritual meant to appease some fixed god or goddess.

On the day of the festival young men take a purifying bath in the morning and cut two tall and well-formed bamboos. The bamboos are trimmed, cleaned, and washed, then decorated with coloured cloths and chowries. Then these are ceremonially planted or kept leaning against some large tree in the midst of a din made by playing of drums and cymbals and blowing of conches. The higher of the bamboos is known as the male *pāra* (pigeon) or bridegroom pāra, while the lower one is known as the female pāra or bride pāra. These are planted close. A little away is made a small cottage with a pointed roof of banana leaves. This is known as *bhatheli-ghar* and in it are placed some eatables and money. The throne in which an idol of God is kept is sometimes taken to the field in a procession. People from neighbouring villages flock in the area, as in a park. There are stalls of sweets and cheap beads and rings ; sometimes one finds stalls of toys of clay made in the traditional manner. Bevies of well-dressed young women move about buying these things and groups of young men with well-oiled hair stroll about looking at or whistling to them. There is a general atmosphere of merriment, participated in even by Muslims. Towards evening young boys strike on the bhatheli-ghar and shout:

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[1] A chapter from the author's unpublished *The Springtime Bihu of Assam.*

"Bhatheli is over, Bhatheli is over !" They share out the eatables and the money. Thus ends the day.

In the southern part of Kamrup, where the festival is known as *Sori*, planting of tall bamboos is not seen, but bamboo posts, with the tuft at the top uncut, are planted to indicate where the thrones of the deities brought out from the neighbouring villages are to be placed. Such a post is known as *chāt,* a sort of marker. Some decades ago one could see in this festival buflalo fight, elephant fight, and horse racing. The festival starts after midday; towards evening the thrones are taken back to their respective Namghars. As each throne is taken back, the people divide into two parties, one carrying the throne and trying to beat or cut down the obstructions—over-hanging branches, leaning bananas, etc.—on the way, while the other party putting up a mock fight and trying to stop the progress of the throne. The throne is taken to each household on the roadside and received at the gate with a lamp and offerings of a coin or two and a *naivedya* of uncooked rice, gram, banana, etc.

In a few villages near Palasbari, for instance, at Chapathuri, there is also the function of *Dadhi-mathan,* symbolic churning of milk by four pairs of small girls known as Gopi and the dance of twelve boys (Gopala) dressed up as Krishna, the god of cowherds. Thus, the association of Krishna and the idea of cow welfare seem to be indicated. The mock fight may be a representation of the attempt of Lakshmi's servants to stop Krishna after he returns from visiting Ghunusa or Gundicha, a Vaishnavite myth normally associated with the Holi festival.

It is not clear why the fair is called Bhatheli or Sori or why the bamboos which may be more than two are known as *pāra.* People bow before the bamboos in northern Kamrup and they also touch them with reverence, but it does not look like any sort of bamboo worship. It is perhaps not tree marriage, though a section of Muslims near Chamata in northern Kamrup perform what is known as *Bah-biya,* their local name for Bhatheli. Bah-biya or bamboo-marriage may be some form of the *Madan-Kām Puja* or *Bas-biya* (worship of Kamadeva at the foot of a bamboo planted for the occasion) that is seen in Cooch Behar in northern Bengal. The puja is performed on the full-moon day of Chaitra. It may be noted that in the Bajali area of northern Kamrup the bamboo (only one bamboo) kept leaning on a banyan tree is known as Madanmohan Gosain, a name for Krishna, and also sometimes worshipped as such.

Kacharis also observe the Bhatheli festival, though they give it their own interpretation. They use only one bamboo. Those near Rangiya call the festival *Bhaitheli*—that which goes down-stream. They make a small hut near the bamboo, offer eatables to all gods and goddesses, good and evil, also a black pigeon and a black goat, and pray to all these to go down-stream and not to give their village any mishap or disease. They symbolize the departing of the gods and goddesses by putting the pigeon and the goat on a raft and casting this loose in the river. Thus, Kacharis give the festival a new meaning. The ceremony seems to recall what J. G. Frazer describes as the public expulsion of evils, "a general riddance of evil spirits at fixed times, usually once a year, in order that the people may make a fresh start in life, freed from all the malignant influence which have been long accumulating about them." As described by Rev. Endle, "The *parwa* is a tall bamboo draped with rags, flags, etc., taken from the village on the last day of the Bihu, and put up in a field alongside a tree, where the people amuse themselves by dancing, wrestling, and tom-toming, etc., around it. It is possible that this may be a relic or survival of phallic worship, the *parwa* taking the place of the lingam or phallus."

II

The planting of the bamboos at Bhatheli seems to recall the Ind Parab of the Mundas. "Two poles of sal-wood, are posted on the ground, and a cross-pole, also of sal-wood, passes horizontally through holes in the two perpendicular poles. Through a hole in the middle of the cross-pole, again, the Ind-pole, which is a very long sal post, is made to stand upright on the ground, parallel to the other perpendicular poles. On the top of this central Ind-pole a huge cage-like thing like the tajia of a Maharrum, is put up. This is covered with a white cloth.........The Ind-pole is taken down on the seventh day after it is planted. On the first day, the Pahan sacrifies a goat and on the last day offers rice-beer to the gods." This is as described by Sarat Chandra Roy. Roy's view that "This festival is celebrated in memory of the first Nagbansi chief," is open to question, for the Indo-pole suggests other associations. Indra as a rain god is found mentioned in folksongs of Assam and elsewhere in India. In the *Rig Veda* Indra was associated with water, rain, the sky, etc. and was also offered prayer in his bird shape. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* even the fire-altar, symbol of mysterious power, is described as a big bird. Sometimes the bird is the symbol of Prajapati the creator.

The planting of tall bamboos and sal posts, with the Assamese *pāra* or pigeon, suggest some kind of Indra worship,—worship of Indra as the supporter of the heavens, as the god of rain, etc. The local Assamese idea that the bamboos represent a bride and a groom may suggest the unification of heaven and earth, for, as the *Vāisanevī Saṁhitā* has it, "When Heaven and Earth are in harmony with each other, then indeed it rains." The late Dr Banikanta Kakati wanted to derive the term *bhatheli* from *bhasthalika*, the sky region, and suggested that the bamboos might be some sort of *Indradhvaja* or pole raised in honour of Indra. In his *Visnuite Myths and Legends* Dr Kakati refers to the joyous festival described in the *Mahabharata* as Indradhvaja, in which a standard used to be set up seven days before the full-moon day. It was a fertility festival later "converted into a festival in honour of Indra, the sovereign of the clouds and waters which generate the grain. Krishna replaced it by instituting the worship of the Govardhana hill."

In his exposition of Bhoja's *Sringara Prakasa* Professor V. Raghavan observes that *Śakramaha* or *Indrotsava* seems to have been the greatest ancient Indian national festival and reference to this can be traced back to the *Rig Veda*. "It is also called the festival of Indradhvaja, Indra's banner. In it a high pole is planted and Indra is taken as represented by that flagstaff." It was an autumnal festival, marked by music, dance, sword-fight, wrestling, etc. Mallinatha, in his commentary on Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsam* (iv), observes that the *Puruhutadhvaja* or *Indradhvaja* was worshipped by kings for rain. So, apparently, *Bhatheli* still recalls this ancient tradition. That Indra was worshipped also in temples in Assam has been evidenced by the recent discovery of an inscription on a copper bell at Udalbakra, some five miles to the south of Gauhati.

An echo of this sort of Indra worship is seen in the Gond *Marhai* festival. In Mandla the festival has passed into the hands of Ahir cowherds, and as described by Verrier Elwin, "These come dressed in cowrie jackets and adorned with peacock feathers and bearing immensely long bamboo poles hung with strings of sweets and coloured streamers to represent Matia, the mischievous spirit who, if not honoured, in this way, would turn the milk sour and steal the pej." In ancient times Indra was a portmanteau god and he had associations also with cows and crops. This festival is a mela, like the *Bhatheli,* to which Murias and Marias bring their gods in a procession, accompanied by hundreds of dancing and wildly gesticulating mediums. At this festival Ahirs sing Doha, move from booth to booth, from house to house, and beg for parched grain or coins. Thus, cow welfare and bamboos seem to be associated with a mela held in honour of some god.

Re-Reading of the Coins of Shu-Klen-Mung

By

J. N. PHUKAN

Of the Āhom coins so far brought to light, those deciphered as belonging to Chāo-phā Shü-klen-müng[1] (A.D. 1539-1552) constitute the oldest lot.[2] These bear inscriptions in Āhom language on both sides.[3] Botham's reading runs as follows:[4]

	Obverse	*Reverse*
1	Chāo phā	Kāo
2	Sukleṇmu	bay phā
3	ṅ pin chāo	Tā rā
4	lākni	heu chu
5	plekni	

The date 'lākni plekni' (Obverse, lines 4 and 5) has been converted to A.D. 1543. A slightly different reading is given by Gait.[5]

	Obverse	*Reverse*
1	cāo phā	Kāo
2	Cuklengmu	bay phā
3	ng pin cāo	tā rā
4	lākni	heu cu
5	plekni	

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[1] He is also known as *Garhgoñā Rajā* in Assamese.

[2] Gait, Sir Edward : *A History of Assam,* 1926, pp. 99, 242-43.

[3] Two such coins are preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. The writer is grateful to the Superintendent and the Assistant Curator of the Museum in extending their kind help for examining these coins.

[4] *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam,* Second Edition, 1930, p. 452 and Plate II, 5. Botham, A.W. & Friel, R. : *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam,* 1919, pp. 168-69, 362. Also Plate II, No. 5.

[5] Notes on Some Ahom Coins, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* July, 1895, Part I, pp. 286-87, Vol. LXIV.

The English rendering of this reading is given as follows:[6]

Observe: The great (cāo) King (phā) Cuklengmung reign (pin cāo) year (lākni) Plekni (15th year of the cycle).

Reverse: I (Kāo) the King (phā) offer (heu cu) prayer (bay) to the Almighty (tā rā).

The date 'lākni plekni' (lines 4 and 5, Obverse) or the '15th year of the cycle' has also been converted to A.D. 1543. It is thus clear that both Botham and Gait deciphered the coins as belonging to the reign of Shü-klen-müng (Śukleṅmuṅ of Botham and Cuklengmung of Gait) and the date lāk-ni plek-ngi (lákni plekni of Botham and lākni plekni Gait) as A.D. 1543. As the chronicles of the Āhom kings or the *buranjis* clearly record the date of Chāo-phā Shü-klen-müng's accession to throne as 'lākni kā-rāo'[7] which corresponds to A.D. 1539, it is therefore concluded that the coins were minted in the fifth year of his reign and the date found on the coins is the date of minting. This interpretation has been accepted by all later writers.[8]

In the following pages an attempt has been made to show that the readings which assigned the coins to Chā-phā Shü-klen-müng are neither supported by facts of history nor by the inscriptions of the coins.

It was customary on the part of the earlier Āhom kings to mint coins in Āhom character marking their accession to the throne.[9] Such coins invariably proclaim the date of accession of the kings who issue them. It would therefore be a mistake to interpret the date on these coins as the date of issue. This theory is supported by the coins of other Āhom kings. Chāo Shü-nat-phā (Hindu name Udayāditya Singha) ascended the throne in A.D. 1670 and his coins bear an Āhom date which is equivalent to A.D. 1670.[10] Chāo Shü-pāt-phā (Hindu name Gadādhar Singha) ascended the throne in 'lāk-ni rāi-sān' and his coins carry the date 'lāk-ni rāi-sān.[11]

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[6] Gait informs us that coins bearing Āhom inscriptions had been deciphered for the first time by Golap Chandra Barua. *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, p. 2. "Notes on Some Ahom Coins", *JASB*. op.cit.

[7] Barua, G. C. : *Ahom Buranji* (with original Tai text), pp. 78-79. MS No. 1161 (in Tai), folio 23, preserved in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati. Bhuyan, Dr S. K. : (ed) *Deodhai Asam Buranji*, p. 40. Gait : *History of Assam*, 1926, p. 98.

[8] Das, M.C. : "A Study of Ahom Coins", *Prāgjyotiṣa*, Souvenir of All India Oriental Conference, XXIInd Session, Gauhati, 1965. Rajkumar, Sarbananda : "Āhom Rajāsakalar Mudrā", *Tai Sanskriti* (in Assamese), Journal of the Tai Historical and Cultural Society of Assam, Vol. I. 1956, pp. 17-25.

[9] Gait : *History*, p. 242.

[10] Gait : *Report*, p. 3.

[11] Botham : *Catalogue*, pp. 453-54, plate II. No. 6. Botham & Friel : *Supplement*, pp. 168-169, Plate II, No. 6. Gait : *Report*, p. 3. The Assam State Museum possesses fourteen coins of this king. All the coins described in the *Catalogue* and in the *Supplement* as well as the fourteen coins in the Museum bear 'lāk-ni rāi-sān'.

The coins of Chāo Shü-nen-phā (Hindu name Pramatta Singha) bear the year 'lāk-ni kāt-keu'[12] which is the year of his accession. Similarly, the coins of Chāo Shü-rem-phā (Hindu name Rājeswar Singha) carry the date of his accession 'lāk-ni rāi-si-ngā.[13] No other coin with Āhom inscriptions of these kings has ever come to light. Taking note of this well-established traditon of the earlier Āhom kings, Botham writes "the earlier Kings, with the exception of Suklenmung bear the dates of accession of the Āhom Kings who issue". He further writes "even after the introduction of the annual coinage, however, the old association of coinage with King's accession was maintained, at any rate in case of certain kings, by the issue of coins in the old Āhom character in the first year of their reign".[14] Why then did Shü-klen-müng not observe the tradition and mint these coins in the fifth year of his reign ? This problem was not discussed by any writer nor was any attempt made to solve this problem.

For finding out an answer to this problem let us examine the contents of the legends on the coins of a few Āhom Kings.

Kings.	*Legends on the obverse side.*				
	1	2		3	
1. Shü-pāt-phā	Chāo-Shü-pāt-phā	pin	khun	lāk-ni	rāi-sān[15]
2. Shü-nen-phā	Chāo-Shü-men-phā	pin	khun	lāk-ni	kāt-keu[16]
3. Shü-rem-phā	Chāo-Shü-rem-phā	pin	khun	lāk-ni	rāi-si-ngā[17]

The legends may be divided into three sections as is shown above. The three sections form a complete sentence. Section I contains the name of the king which is the subject of the sentence. Section 2 contains a verb and a complement. The verb is *pin* and the complement is *khun*. *Pin* verb conveys the meaning *to be* or *to become*[18] which required a complement to complete the meaning. *Khun* is the complement which means 'king'[19] or 'master'. Sometimes the word *chāo* which also conveys the same meaning as *khun* is employed. Both *pin chao* and *pin khun* convey the meaning 'to become king' or 'to become lord'. These two terms are used in the Āhom historical documents to carry the meaning 'to become king' as may be seen from the following sentences.

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[12] Botham : *Catalogue*. p. 469 Plate II, No. 7. *Supplement*, p. 362, Plate II, No. 7. *Report*, p. 3. A coin of this king bearing the Āhom year 'lāk-ni kāt-keu' can also be seen in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati.

[13] The British Museum possesses a coin of Chāo Shü-rem-phā which is described by Botham in the *Catalogue*, Plate VII. This coin also bears the Āhom date 'lāk-ni rāi-si-ngā'.

[14] Botham : *Catalogue*, Part VIII, section XXXIV, p. 447.

[15] Ibid : pp. 453-454, Plate II, No. 6. *Supplement*, pp. 168-169, Plate II, No. 6.

[16] Ibid : p. 469, Plate II, No. 7, *Supplement*, p. 362, Plate II, No. 7.

[17] Ibid ; Plate VII.

[18] Cushing, J. N. : *Shan Grammar*, Rangoon, 1887, pp. 57, 74, 78.
Needham, J. F. : *Grammar of the Tai (Kmāmti) Language*, Rangoon, 1894, p. 59.
Haas, Mary R, : *Thai Vocabulary*, 1955, pp. 399-401. Lanyon-Orgill, P.A. : *An Introduction to Thai (Siamese) Language*, pp. 71-72. Barua, G. C. : *Ahom-Assamese-English Dictionary*, pp. 102-103.

Sentences	*Meaning*
1. Chāo Shü-pāt-phā pin khun[20]	Chāo Shü-pāt-phā became king.
2. Chāo Shü-khrung-phā pin chāo[21]	Chāo Shü-khrung-phā became king.
3. Chāo Shü-tan-phā pin khun[22]	Chāo Shü-tan-phā became king.

Sometimes *pin chāo* and *pin khun* are combined together to form a couplet. The couplet *pin chāo pin khun*[23] also carries the same meaning 'to become king'. The sequence of these sentences is subject, verb and complement.

Section 3 contains the date or *lāk-ni.* In Tai language, adverb of time is put either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence. Usually, it is placed at the beginning. In the above legends, adverb of time is placed at the end for emphasis and recognition. Therefore, section 3 which contains the name of the year must be regarded as a part of the sentence. Thus the complete meaning of legend No. 1 is 'Chāo Shü-pāt-phā became king in lāk-ni rāi-sān', of legend No. 2 is 'Chāo Shü-nen-phā became king in lāk-ni kāt-keu', and of legend No. 3 is 'Chāo Shü-rem-phā became king in lāk-ni rāi-si-ngā'. The legend on the observe side of Shü-klen-müng's coins according to the earlier readings is Chāo-phā Shü-klen-müng pin chāo lāk-ni plek-ngi. The correct meaning of this legend on the strength of the analysis made above is *Chāo-phā Shü-klen-müng became king in lāk-ni plek-ngi.* But Gait's translation is *'the King Suklenmung reign year plek-ngi'*. He rendered the term *pin chāo* as 'reign' instead of 'became king' and interpreted *lāk-ni plek-ngi* as the year of issue and not the year of accession. The rendering of *pin chāo* as 'reign' by Gait is not approved by Tai grammar. In Tai language, the verb *pin* is never employed to convey the sense of continuation of any act or event. It is used only to mean the starting point of any act. For conveying the sense of Shü-klen-müng continuing his reign, Tai speakers would not employ the term *pin chāo.* As for instance the sentence 'Pā-meo-pung pin bā'[24] means Pā-meo-pung was mad for a long period of time. Therefore, the rendering of *pin chāo* as 'reign' is wrong. Thus a correct translation of the old reading of Shü-klen-müng's coins is *Chāo-phā Shü-klen-müng became king in lāk-ni plek-ngi.* But it brings into existence two conflicting dates of his accession to the throne; one is *lāk-ni plek-ngi* as found in the coins, the other is *lāk-ni kā-rāo* as recorded in the Āhom Chronicles.

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[19] Barua, G. C. : op. cit., pp. 34-35, 198-199.

[20] Barua, G. C. : (Edited and translated) *Ahom Buranji*, Tai text, p. 30.

[21] Ibid, p. 31.

[22] Ibid, p. 273.

[23] Ibid, p. 301.

The conflicts is not insurmountable and can be resolved when the coins are re-read in the light of the following argument. First, the correct name of the King as found in all historical documents is *Shü-k(l)en-müng*[25] and not *Su-k(l)eng-mung*. The middle word of the name is *k(l)en* and not *k(l)eng*. There is no word as *k(l)eng* in Āhom language.[26] Moreover, it is a compound word which means (shü=tiger, k(l)en=to eat, to engulf, müng =country) the tiger who engulfs the kingdom.[27] The ancient tradition connects the Shan royal family with tiger,[28] but the word *Sü-k(l)eng-müng* does not convey any sense. Secondly, the reading of the middle syllable of the name as *k(l)eng* is wrong because the line endings of the Āhom alphabet *k* of k(l)eng can never go upward but always follow a downward curve as are seen in letter *k* of the words *lāk* (Obverse, line 4, 1st word, Botham's *Catalogue,* Plate II, No. 5) and of *kāo* (Reserve, line 1, 1st word in the same Plate No. 5). In all these words the line endings of the letter *k* of *k(l)eng* of the coins have upward curve. Therefore, this *k* of *k(l)eng* is not actually *k* but something else. Thirdly, this letter in fact is *p* which is identical in shape with *p* of *plek* (Obverse, line 5). Fourthly, this letter *p* is having novel combinations of what are called in Āhom *tāng* (=i) and *tu* (=u) as seen in the plate. The combination of the two vowels is usually pronounced as *ü*. While the consonant *k* of *k(l)en* takes the vowel symbol *tāng* (=i) only. When vowel signs *tang* and *tu* are combined with *k* it will be pronounced as *kü* and not *k(l)e*.

Thus the word read earlier as *kleng* should be read as *püng* and the name of the King would be thus Shü-püng-müng. It is known from the historical documents that Shü-püng-müng (Chakradhvaj Singha) ascended the throne in lāk-ni plek-ngi[29] which corresponds to A.D. 1663/1665. Hence the coins assigned to Shü-klen-müng actually belong to Shü-püng-müng.

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[24] *Ahom Buranji,* (Tai text), p. 44.

[25] *Ahom Buranji,* pp. 26, 28, 72, 73, 74, 75 (2), 79 (3), 81, 82 (2). The number within brackets indicates the number of times it appears. *History of Assam* : pp. 99-101, 276-277.

[26] Barua G. C. : *Ahom-Assamese-English Dictionary.*
Barua B & Phukan, N : *Ahom Lexicons.*

[27] Cushing : *Shan Grammar.*

[28] Scott & Hardiman : *Gazeetteer of Upper Burma and Shan States,* Vol. I, Part I, pp. 202-203.

[29] Barua G.C. : *Ahom Buranji,* p. 186.

Variations Among Bodo Populations of Assam

By

BHUBAN M. DAS

The process of detribalization is obvious in many parts of India, particularly where the tribes are met with in various transitional phases of culture. In Assam, such populations are met with in South Goalpara, which form a narrow strip of land with an area of about 1275 square miles, and is bounded by the Garo Hills in the south, the Brahmaputra river in the north, Kamrup district in the east and East Pakistan in the west. In South Goalpara, amongst others, live the Garo, the Kachari, the Rabha and the Rajbansi.

The Garo (Das 1960) may be divided into the Hill Garo and the Plains Garo according to their habitat. The Hill Garo are enthnologically an interesting people, since they are the product of a matrilineal society. They have adopted a way of living which is inherently required in a hilly habitat. They practise axe- or shifting-cultivation. Recently they have learnt the technique of terrace-cultivation with counter-bunds, horticulture and fruit-growing orchards. The tribal solidarity based on matriliny is strongly observed by them, though modern civilization and christianity have brought about some changes in their way of life. They may be considered as a homogeneous group living in a circumscribed territory of their own.

The Plains Garo, subjected to a way of living in the plains, have learnt ploughing. They are still maintaining the matrilineal tradition, but are under the influence of the neighbouring patrilineal communities. Contact with the latter apparently brought about noteworthy changes in their social constitution. In the countryside, the Plains Garo vary very little from the neighbouring patrilineal peasants in regard to their ways of livelihood, though they differ socially. The daily lives of the Plains Garo and of the local Hindu peasants have been moulded to a great extent in the same direction, but on account of their time-honoured social tradition, they have still managed to preserve their separate identity.

When the Hill Garo came down to settle in the plains is not definitely known. Gait in 1891 did not refer to anything regarding the Plains Garo. Baines, writing in 1912, made no mention of them. The Plains Garo have no well defined territory of their own. They live in small villages along with the Rabha and the Kachari. It is, therefore, possible that they have exchanged not only some cultural elements but also some genes.

The Rabha (Das 1960) seem to be in a stage of transition from the

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matrilineal to patrilineal form of family life. Descent is in the female line, while the residence after marriage is patrilocal. In other features also they are more on the side of patriarchy than matriarchy. The Rabha tribe is divided into several groups, of which the Pati, Rangdani and Maitori constitute the majority and form the subject of the present study.

The Kachari (Das 1960) follow a simple patriarchal social life, similar to a large extent to the local non-tribal Hindu peoples and their culture. Cultural impacts have yielded many striking social changes in their tribal life. Intermarriages between the Rabha and the Kachari are not infrequent, though this is allowed only on payment of some fines. These two tribes, the Rabha and the Kachari, appear to be in the transitional stage.

The Rajbansi (Das 1962) appear to be of recent 'mixed-lineage'. They possess many striking features both from the physical and socio-cultural points of view. They have been described as one of the 'race-castes' (Allen 1905) of Assam, who generally claim to be an 'outlying branch of the Kshatriyas' (Risley 1915). The administrators have, however, recognised them as a backward class. They are widely distributed in most of the districts of Assam, the heaviest aggregation being in the valley of the Brahmaputra of Goalpara district. They are common in North Bengal and East Pakistan also. The North Bengal and East Pakistan Rajbansi have been identified by Risely as the representatives of the 'Dravidian stock who, being driven by pressure from the west into the swamps and forests of northern and north-eastern Bengal (now East Pakistan), were brought into contact with the Mongoloid races of the Lower Himalayas and the Assam border'. Waddell (1901) describes them as 'distinctly Mongoloid though somewhat heterogeneous'. According to Dalton (1872) 'they belong to the Dravidian stock, and are probably a branch of the great Bhuiya family'.

Without going into the details regarding the origin of the Rajbansi it may be mentioned here that in South Goalpara peoples of different tribal groups like the Rabha, the Garo, the Kachari, after conversion to Hinduism are known as the Rajbansi and are given a place in the caste-complex of the Hindu society. It is not known when this process of conversion has commenced, but it appears to be a live process even now and by the same process more and more new members are added to the Rajbansi. Some of them adopted Hinduism in an undated past. They usually claim that they are pure Rajbansi and are not the descendants of any converted tribal population.

The above peoples can be divided into three ecological categories: the Hill Garo are essentially a hill people living in the hills; the Plains Garo, who are an offshot of the above hill people, have now settled on the plains. Of the three Rabha groups, the Rangdani live on small hillocks as well as on the plains. The Rajbansi and the Kachari have now settled on the river valleys.

Again the above peoples are met with in three different stages. Firstly, the Hill Garo, who may be regarded as a base line in the present study. Secondly, the Plains Garo, the Rabha and the Kachari appear to be in the transitional stage. Lastly, the Rajbansi, who appear to be the end product of the process. The differences in the physical features of an average Hill Garo and an average Rajbansi are obvious, at the same time the differences between them do not appear to be racial in nature. All the above mentioned tribal groups belong to the same racial stock—the Bodo. Linguistically, the Bodo speakers form a family of the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Chinese languages.

Thus this geographical region, viz. South Goalpara, offers a good scope to testify the validity of the process of detribalization. The object of the present article is however, not to study the process of detribalization itself, but to find out whether there has been any change in the physical features of the peoples involved in the above process. Of course, it does not mean that the process of detribalization is responsible in bringing out these changes. Because hybridization appears to be as much as a potent factor in causing physical changes as the environment, in which these peoples are now living.

The present writer made an attempt (Das 1959) to find out how far an end product like the Rajbansi is supported by actual anthropometric measurements and observations; and whether any other people can be associated in the transitional phase—a phase commencing with the Hill Garo and ending into the Rajbansi. For this purpose, adequate amount of anthropometric and somatoscopic data were collected from among these peoples. On analysis of the data, significant variations in physical features among the above samples have been observed and these variations are accompanied by an increase and decrease of the different characters. In the present article, however, without going into the details of the findings, reference will be made to some of the changes. For example, as regards somatometric characters, in respect of stature, sitting height, head height and nasal height, only an increase in the mean values from the Hill Garo base line is seen, while in respect of minimum frontal diameter, bizygomatic breadth, nasal breadth and nasal index, a decrease in the mean values is observed. The other characters show both increase and decrease.

Again as regards somatoscopic characters it may be mentioned that from the Hill Garo base line the percentage of wavy hair increases to the other groups, while the percentage of coarse hair decreases. All the groups, excepting the Plains Garo, are distinguished from the Hill Garo by lesser development of supraorbital ridges. A decreasing tendency of medium and an increasing tendency of thin lips are observed as one passes from the Hill Garo to the Rajbansi through the other populations.

Besides these, there appear a tendency towards finer and probably weaker physical features from the Hill Garo stage to the Rajbansi stage in respect of some other characters also. For example, the Rajbansi appear to be much weaker than the sturdy Hill Garo. Among the Hill Garo zygomatic arch is strongly marked, but it is weakly marked among the Rajbansi. The high amount of prognathism of the Hill Garo is no longer present among the Rajbansi. The eye-slit has become straight, the palpebral fissure wide and the mongolian fold less marked. An increasing tendency of percentage of the growth of hair in the eyebrows and face is also apparent.

Such changes have also been observed among other populations of India. Thurston (1909) has shown that stature increased in the case of the 'domesticated' Kanikar of South India from the 'jungle' Kanikar, while nasal index decreased. Sarkar (1958) has found among the Male, the Plains Male and the Malpaharia of the Rajmahal Hills, that stature, head length, head breadth and total facial height increased from the Hill Male stage to the Plains Male. The other characters showed a decrease.

At the present state of our knowledge it is however, difficult to account for these variations observed among the populations of South Goalpara. Because a host of factors may be responsible in bringing out these changes.

But it may be said that the different population groups of South Goalpara appear to vary from one another in small magnitude—so to say, microscopic in nature, and that these appear to be heading for an evolutionary status from small local groups, which Sir Arthur Keith calls 'evolutionary units'. Thus each of the above mentioned populations is contributing its share in the process of micro-evolution.

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The Doctrine of Maya

By

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The concept of Māyā, the pivot of the Advaita Philosophy of Sankara has been misunderstood and misinterpreted in the West and very often unjustly criticised by Western thinkers. The Māyāvada, is really a difficult theory to understand and it is no wonder that it should present difficulties to all serious students of Philosophy. Even now the *Adhyasa Bhasya* of Sankara with the Māyāvāda expounded in it, is regarded as the most difficult of all the Philosophical treatises. But it is still hard to think that even the eminent Western thinkers of the present day, dispense with it as a Philosophical trifle, without giving any serious reflection which it undoubtedly deserves.

The concept of Māyā is as old as the Indian metaphysical thought itself. The term occurs frequently in various senses in the different systems of Indian thought, and yet through them all runs a central meaning,- namely, the distinction between the real and the apparent, between the trans-empirical and the empirical. The present study aims to make an historical survey of the growth and development of the doctrine Māyā in the Pre-Sankara literature.

Ṛgveda: The term Māyā can be traced to Ṛgveda, the earliest literary monument of the Aryan mind where it occurs one hundred and two times[1]. In his masterly analytical concordance, *Woerterbuch Zum Rig-veda,* Grossmann has cited sixty three instances where the word occurs, and thirty nine other instances where its derivatives are noted[2]. Its use in the vedas has been further analysed by Bergaigne in his volumes on the *Vedic Religion*[3] P. D. Shastri in his first part of the book *The Doctrine of Māyā* enumerated the various passages in the Ṛgveda where the word occurs in many forms.[4] Altogether it is used in Ṛgveda in three different senses; (1) It means the supernatural power of gods—especially of Indra, Mitra, and Varuna—to transform themselves or assume strange-forms[5]. (ii) It is often used to indicate the world-sustaining power[6] (iii) Māyā means the deception or cunning exercised by the Asuras in their fight against the devas[7]..

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[1] P. D. Devananda, *Concept of Māyā,* p. 20.

[2] Hermann Grossmann, *Woerterbuch Zum Rig-Veda,* Vol. III.

[3] A Bergaigne, *Religion Vedique,* p. 80f.

[4] P. D. Shastri, *The Doctrine of Māyā.*

[5] Ṛgveda 4. 47. 18.

[6] Ibid. III. 38. 7; IX. 18. 3.

[7] Ibid, VI. 72.1.

Upaniṣads: It is often said that the doctrine of Māyā, as expounded by Sankara, can hardly be traced to Upaniṣads and all such attempts are bound to be more or less futile. But this is not the truth. R. D. Ranade in his work *A constructive Survey of the Upanisadic Philosophy,* has rightly pointed out the origin of this doctrine in the Upanishads. "The doctrine of Māyā" says Ranade "is neither the fabrication of Sankara nor merely the out come of Buddhistic nihilism nor found full-fledged in the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads felt the mystery of creation. They saw that the world cannot be real at the level of Brahman. And what they felt and saw, they expressed in their own way. Their ideas are given a systematic form by Sankara and his followers. But on one point almost all the Upaniṣads are unanimous, namely, that the ultimate Reality is of the nature of consciousness"[8].

He gives the following Upanisadic evidences to substantiate his position :

"1. Isha tells us that the will that covers the truth is golden, so rich, gaudy and dazzling that it takes away the mind of the observer from the inner contents. (Isha, 15.)
2. Katha says how people live in ignorance and thinking themselves wise, move about wandering, like blind men following the blind.
3. Muṇdaka compares ignorance to a knot which a man has to untie before he gets possession of the self in the recess of his own heart. (II, 1, 10.)
4. Chhāndogya tells us that knowledge is power and ignorance is impotence. (1, 1, 10.)
5. Bṛhadāraṇyaka compares Unreality to Not-being, to Darkness and to Death. (1, 3, 28.)
6. Prashna tells us that we cannot reach the world of Brahman unless we have shaken off the crookedness in us, the falsehood, the illusion. (1, 16.)
7. Bṛhadāranyaka tells us 'as if there were a duality' implying thereby that there is really no duality. Māyā is a semblance, an as-it-were, an appearance. (II, 4, 14).
8. Chhāndogya tells us that Ātman is the only Reality, everything else is merely a word, a mode and a name. (VI, 1, 4.)
9. Shvetashvatara describes God as a Mayin who creates this world by His power. (IV, 9.)"[9]

The Bṛhadāranyaka contains the famous prayer: 'Carry me from Unreality to Reality, from Darkness to Light; from Death to Immortality"[10]. The passing pageant of the universe is the domain of unreality, darkness and death and beyond and behind this is the timeless and deathless Reality. In the Maitrāyanīya, the Absolute is compared to a wheel of fire, an analogy which was developed later by Gauḍapāda to explain the illusory nature of the world. It should be noted that the distinction between Māyā of Brahman and the Avidyā of Jīva, which we find in the later Vedanta is not to be found in the Upaniṣads. "The strongest curent of thought which has found expression in the majority of the Upanisadic texts is that the Atman or the Brahman is the only reality and that besides this everything else is unreal. The other current of thought which is found in many of the texts is the panthestic creed that identifies the universe with Atman or Brahman. The third current is that of theism, which looks upon Brahman as the Lord of the controlling world"[11]. This clearly shows that though Sankara and Rāmānuja differ so considerably in their views on Māyā, both of them can legitimately find their proper support from Upanisadic passages[12]. Sankara incorporates the fundamental mystical and ethical influences of Buddhism ; while Rāmānuja comming two centuries later, is less influenced by Buddhistic mysticism and works out his system through the thesitic traditions.

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[8] Quoted by P. Nagaraja Rao, *Introduction to Vedanta,* p. 136.

[9] Quoted by C. D. Sharmah, *A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy.* p. 30.

[10] Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, 1.3.28.

Bhagavadgītā: Gītā, the most popular and sacred book of Hindus, which places due importance on the joyful fulfilment of one's specific Dharma, uses the term Māyā in different senses. (i) Māyā is not the material existence. It is rather the mode in which matter is apprehended by the mind both of which are eternal varities. The transformation of the Impersonal Absolute into the Personal God is solved by the supposition that it is due to Māyā or cosmic illusion. The Lord of the Gītā says: "Although I am unborn and imperishable and the Lord of all bhutas, yet I resort to my own Prakriti and through the inscrutability of my own Māyā (I appear) in the bodily form"[13]. Thus Māyā is the power of God assuming any shape and taking any Avatāra and may be called Yoga-Māyā or Prakṛti[14] Māyā is the power of God of creating the entire universe and is called prakṛti, which has three Gunas—Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas (ii) In the eighteenth chapter of Gītā Māyā is used to mean the controlling power of the Lord over all the living beings[15]. (iii) Māyā is also used to the deception created by ignorance from which all Jīvas suffer and are unable to see and realise God, the ultimate Reality[16]. (iv) Māyā is like a veil and conceals God[17]. It is becasue of Māyā that God remained concealed from the eyes of the ignorant.

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[11] S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. p. 50.
[12] Dr S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I.
[13] Gītā, IV. 6.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid, XVIII. 61.
[16] Ibid, VII. 15.
[17] Ibid, X. 42.

Buddhism : It is in the Śūnyavāda School of Buddhism that we find a definite and clear statement that the world is Māyā in the sense of mere illusion or mirage. But the term Avidyā which occurs frequently in the Buddhist Philosophy is not to be identified with Māyā. The ignorance (avidyā) that is ultimately responsible for the whole series of causes and effects is the ignorance of noble truths; specially of delusion that life is not suffering but a process of pleasure. In Buddha's thought there is no idea of regarding it (avidyā) as equivalent to cosmic illusion or Māyā as the failure to recognise the identity of the finite and the Absolute or an illusory projection of the world created by the mind on the canvas of nothing.

Nāgārjuna holds that origination, existence and destruction are of the nature of illusion (Māyā) dream (Svapna) and a fairy castle (gandharvanagara). He uses probably for the first time, the famous simile of rope and snake. Just as a rope appearing as a snake is a mere illusion, such is the flux of the universe. It is significant to note that this illustration, which forms a crucial part of Sankara's theory of Adhyāsa (super imposision) and Vivartavāda (apparent transformation) is not present in the Upaniṣads, the Gītā or even in the Brahmasūtras. The Upaniṣads use the similies of earth and utensils made of earth or Gold and ornaments made of Gold, to explain the relation between cause and effect, the one Ultimate Reality (Brahman) and the many-fold objects of the universe. They never use the similies of rope and snake or shell and silver.

Again Upaniṣads repeatedly make the distinction between the Reality and Appearance; but it is Nāgārjuna who makes the sharp distinction between empirical truth (Samvrti satya) and transcendental or absolute truth (paramarthika satya)[18]. Buddhistic distinction among Nitya samvṛti, Tathya samvṛti, and Paramārtha will now correspond to Pratibhāsa, Vyavahāra, and Paramārtha of the Advaita Vedānta. Objects of the world are empirically real, but from the trancendental point of view they are Māyā. About the nature of the ultimate reality we cannot say anything. Its nature cannot be described through any empirical categories and that is why Lord Buddha used to answer silence on such queries.

This analysis clearly shows that the doctrine of Māyā is as old as the Indian metaphysical thought itself and the assumption that the doctrine of Māyā or Avidyā is either borrowed by Sankara from Buddhism or it is a fabrication of the fertile mind of Sankara is logically untenable. The truth is that the theory of Māyā is present in the Upaniṣads and Sankara has elaborated it like an original thinker. And in his interpretation he combines in a new synthesis the Upaniṣadic and Buddhistic doctrines—the positive conceptions about the nature of the ultimate Reality and the phenomenalistic interpretation of the objects of the universe.

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[18] Datta and Chatterji, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy,* p. 148.

The Three Qualities of Magha

By

MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA

1. upamā kālidāsasya bhāraverarthagauravam
naiṣadhe padalālityam māghe santi trayo guṇāḥ.

The annonymous popular verses such as the above one often embody great truths and convey invaluable informations. An analysis of the above verse as presented below is expected to through much light on the traditional appreciation of the enumerated authors. It may appear that the present verse aims at establishing a relative superiority of Māgha by stating that while Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Śrīharṣa have one quality each Māgha possesses all the three qualities together. The three qualities should then refer to *upamā, artha-gaurava,* and *padalālitya.* It may also be interpreted that the four poets are put in the same footing by being distinguished with one speciality each. In such a case *three qualities* (trayo guṇāḥ) may refer to the qualities of rasa. Let us now examine what should be taken as the more reasonable interpretation.

2. We can understand *upamā, arthagaurava* and *padalālitya* from the expression *trayo guṇāḥ* only if the term *guṇa* is suitable for *upamā,* etc. The definition of guṇa, given in the Mahābhāṣya under the rule *voto guṇavacanāt*[1] is not applicable to upamā, etc., in so far as according to this definition guṇa should invariably belong to a dravya[2]. Hence, in the present context we should understand guṇa as "an accomplished attribute of a padārtha, which is the source of its distinction".[3] Padārtha having a wider conotation than that of dravya shall be to our advantage as that would include kāvya also which is a *padārtha* if not a *dravya. Upamā, being* an alaṁkāra and conforming to the definition given by Daṇḍin, "*Kāvya-śobhākarān dharmānalaṁkārān pracakṣate*" adequately and duly lends a distinction to the kāvya. Likewise, *arthagaurava* also, being a casual attribute of kāvya, serves as a source of distinction. *Padalālitya* also being a very rare attribute happens to lend distinction to the kāvya in which it occurs. Thus upamā, etc., may be unquestionably designated as *guṇa* because of their *viśeṣādhāyakatva.*

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[1] sattve niviśate'paiti pṛthag jātiṣu dṛsyate
ādheyaścākriyājaśca so'sattvaprakṛtirguṇaḥ.

[2] "sattvaṁ dravyaṁ samavāyikāraṇam tatraiva niviśate samavaiti yaḥ
sa guṇa ityanvaya", Vālamonoramā under *Siddhāntakaumudi,* Rule No.502

[3] "padārthasya viśeṣādhānahetuḥ siddho vastudharmaḥ", *Kāvyaprakāśa,* II.

3. The term upamā, here, should be understood to stand for all the alaṁkāras, particularly all the alaṁkāras having upamā at the base, through *upalakṣaṇa*. That upamā is duly competent to stand for the arthālaṁkāras is rightly supported by the following words of *Citramīmāṁsā*.

> upamaikā śailūṣī samprāptā citrabhūmikābhedān
> rañjayati kāvyaraṅge nṛtyantī tadvidāṁ cetaḥ.

In a work like *Meghadūta* we have, indeed, a more conspicuous presence of *arthāntaranyāsa*. The present explanation would allow the inclusion also of arthāntaranyāsa as a source of distinction. Predominance of upamā and for that matter of other upamā-garbha-alaṁkāras is evinced by the presence of upamā in the very first clause of Raghu-vaṁśa, *Vāgarthāvivasaṁpṛktau*.

4. Bharavi himself uses the term *arthagaurava* in the speech of Bhīmasena. Compare,

> sphuṭatā na padairapākṛtā na ca na svīkṛtamarthagauravam
> racitā pṛthagarthatā girāṁ na ca sāmarthyamapohitaṁ kvacit.
> (*Kirātārjunīya*, II. 27)

Arthagaurava should literally mean "weight of meaning". This weight (*gaurava*) may be understood to be due to the didactic import which is generally conveyed through *arthāntaranyāsas*. Bharavi's poem, indeed, abounds in it.[4] If this *first* probable implication of the term *arthagaurava* is accepted then we can have this speciality in the speech of Bhīmasena himself as in *Kirāta*, II. 5.

5. Mallinātha, under *Kirāta*, II. 27, explains *arthagaurava* as the excess of meaning (*arthabhūyastva*). This excess of meaning in the same context is plausible if there is ślaṣa or dhvani[5]. A very secure sample of this *second* probable implication of arthagaurava is Kirāta, I.14 and Kirāta, II.3 can be cited as an example in the speech of Bhīmasena himself. We may be sure of at least one fact that the author of the annonymous verse borrowed the expression *arthagaurava* from Kirāta, II, 27 along with the implication intended by Bhāravi. Of the two probable implications, however, the *second* one seems to be more suitable to the purport of the annonymous verse in so far as "weight of meaning" (due to *arthāntaranyāsa*, etc.) being common to Kālidāsa also does not succeed in being a distinguishing element. But "excess of meaning" (due to the use of śleṣa) emerges out surely as a distinguishing mark of Bhāravi in so far as Bhāravi, who is alleged to have been in many ways the beginner

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[4] Cf. *Kirātārjunīya*, I.4, XV.15. etc.

[5] The term *arthagaurava* in the present context, however, does not surely refer to *dhvani*, because Bhāravi, who himself used the term could never have been familiar with the concept of dhvani, propounded some three hundred years later by Ānandavardhana.

of mannerisms in later poets was also in a sense the pioneer in the use of *double entendre*.[6]

6. "Padalālitya" should literally mean elegance of the words, i.e., an agreeableness to the ears. This is likely to be present where there is in general a presence of *yamaka, anuprāsa,* etc., and absence of harsh syllables. *Naiṣadha,* I.41 and IV.79, for example, present such an elegance.

7. But technically padalālitya should mean some thing else. Udbhaṭa in his *Kāvyālaṁkārasārasaṁgraha* recognises three varieties of Anuprāsa based on three varieties of Vṛtti, viz., Paruṣā, Upanāgarikā and Grāmyā. Udbhaṭa defines Upanāgarikā as follows :

sarupasaṁyogayutāṁ mūrdhni vargāntyayogibhiḥ
sparśairyutāṁ ca manyante upanāgarikāṁ budhāḥ.
(*Kāvyālaṁkārasārasaṁgraha,* I. 5)

The Vṛtti (composition) consisting of the conjunct consonants of similar letters, such as kka, ppa, cca, and of the five nasals with the rest of the *sparśa varṇas* such as ṅka, ñca, ṇṭha, nta, mpa is called Upanāgarikā Vṛtti.[7] The example given by Udbhaṭa is :

sāndrāravindavindotthamakarandāmbuvindubhiḥ.
syandibhiḥ sundarasyandaṁ nanditendindirā kvacit.

This Upanāgarikā Vṛtti is desginated by Abhinavagupta as Lalitā.[8] Following this view of Abhinava we may hold that a kāvya may be said to have padalālitya when the words possess *lalitā vṛtti,* defined by Udbhaṭa under the designation of upanāgarikā. Such a padalālitya may be recognised as a distinguishing mark (guṇa) of *Naiṣadhacarita* because of a deliberate repeated and abundant use of the alliteration based on the conjunction either of the same consonants or of the nasals with the sparśavarṇas. For example, we may refer to four consecutive verses of *Naiṣadha.* I (verse Nos. 85-88) where *ṅga* is present in all the four verses and *mba, nda, mpa* are also so conspicuously present that it appears to be a deliberate demonstration of padalālitya of a type desired by Abhinava.

It has to be added here that the presence of such a padalālitya cannot be altogether ruled out in other poets like Bhāravi[9]. But the occurrance is so casual and accidental that it does not appear as a distinctive mark in other poets.

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[6] Compare for the use of double entendre : *Kirāta,* I.24 ; III. 5, 42 ; IV.1 ; XIV, 3 ; XV. 45 (with 3 meanings). Compare also, "These *double entendres* are beloved in India, and Bhāravi has a fair number.........", Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature,* 1948, p. 127.

[7] Vide *Laghuvṛtti* of Pratīhārendurāja on Udbhaṭa.

[8] "tathāhyanuprāsānāmeva . . . . . masṛṇānuprāsa upanāgarikā, lalitā. nāgarikayā vidagdhayā upamiteti kṛtvā" (*Locana,* under *Dhvanyāloka,* Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series edn. p. 17f.)

[9] cf. *Kirāta,* XIV.2 ; XV, 38, 49, etc.

8. *Nāṭyaśāstra,* XVI. 187[10], contains the word *lalitā*:
cekrīḍitaprabhṛtibhirvikṛtaiśca śabdairyuktā na bhānti lalitā bharataprayogāḥ.

Abhinavagupta in the *Abhinavabhāratī* explains lalitā as *sukumāraprayogāḥ.* Explaining saukumārya, a śabdaguṇa recognised by Bharata, Abinava observes[11] that certain words are, by nature, harsh to the ears, e.g. *drāḍhā, ajadhḍhā nirdvaitam* and *sadṛktvavyavasitiḥ.* Others, again, are harsh on account of euphonic combination, e.g. *dārvyākhyārvīvidhūyate.* Saukumārya is the absence of both these harsh natures. Then for further remarks on the two varieties of agreeable and disagreeable syllables he refers to his observation in the context of the Samādhi guṇa which runs as follows :

svabhāvato hi kecana varṇāḥ santāpayantīva nikṛntantīva rephakakārādaya iva paruṣavṛttipurvakāḥ, anye tu nirvāpayantīvopanāgarikocitāḥ.

This observation corroborates to the fact that the harsh sounds should generally come out as cases of *paruṣā vṛtti* while the agreeable sounds should present cases of *upanāgarikā* (or say *lalitā*) *vṛtti.* The example of Samādhi, '*nirānandaḥ kauṇḍe madhuni*', given by Abhinava, also presents lalitā vṛtti.

9. We may observe that Upamā, arthagaurava and padalālitya, as understood by us above, are so abundantly present in the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha, that they can surely be recognised as distinguishing features (guṇas). Example of upamā is XIV. 19. Example of arthagaurava, according to the first implication of the term, is II.46. and according to the second implication I. 28 stands as a very appropriate example. If padalālitya is understood simply as agreeableness to the ears then VI.2 is a very nice example wherein we find the presence of an alliteration of lalitā vṛtti also. A deliberate use of lalitā vṛtti is observed in Māgha also as in the three consecutive verses, I.6 to I.8, where we have alliterations of *ṅga, mba, nta* and *nda.* Thus the annonymous verse praises Māgha for the remarkable presence of all the three distinctive features of the other three notable stars of the galaxy of Sanskrit epic poets.

10. For the portion "naiṣadhe padalālityam", an alternative reading "daṇḍinaḥ padalālityam" is also suggested. With the reading *daṇḍinaḥ* we have the poets in a proper chronological order which is disturbed if *Naiṣadha* is put before Māgha[12]. But we prefer the reading *Naiṣadhe,*

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[10] In Kavi's edition.

[11] "Kvacit padasya svayaṁ pāruṣyam - - - - - atra ca yad vaktavyam tat samādhilakṣaṇe nirṇītam".

[12] Kālidāsa, C. 400 A.D. (keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 82).
Bhāravi, C. 550. A.D. (*Ibid* p. 109).
Māgha, C. 700 A.D. (*Ibid* p. 124).
Daṇḍin, earlier to Bhāmahá, placed C. 700 A.D. (*Ibid.* p. 296 f).
Śrīharṣa, second half of 12th century. A.D. (*Ibid.* p. 140).
Mammata C. 1100 A.D. (*Ibid.* p. 140).

since *Naiṣadhacarita* being a kāvya keeps the symmatry with other authors of Mahākāvya. Moreover, the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin does not have any remarkable amount of padalālitya of the type we have recognised after Abhinava except for a few very casual cases as in - - - - nābhi*maṇḍal*ena samnāhyārtha*maṇḍal*aṁ śroṇi*maṇḍal*ena bhavanaratnatoraṇastambhayugalam - - - where the repetition of *ṇḍa* is surely not in the interest of padalātitya but in the interest of a *yamaka* of *maṇḍala.*

As we accept the reading *naiṣadhe* the author of the annonymous verse was surely later than Śrīharṣa and as such he was later than Mammaṭa also. Mammaṭa reduced the number of guṇas to three in such a manner that wherever there are ten guṇas of Daṇḍin, there must be the three guṇas recognised by Mammaṭa. Māgha is celebrated to have all the ten guṇas recognised by Daṇḍin in a single verse, i.e., *Śiśupāla,* XI, 19, as suggested by Mallinātha. The three guṇas of Mammṭa being representative of the ten guṇas of Daṇḍin, we may rightly discover the three guṇas in the verse XI.19 and hence, the presence of three guṇas is said to be the distinguishing mark of Māgha. It is plausible that this additional implication is also intended by the annonymous verse since, to repeat Keith, "these *double entendres* are beloved in India".

11. Even if we take the expression *trayo guṇāh* to mean directly, without depending in any roundabout observation like that of Mallinātha, the three qualities recognised by the neo-rhetoricians, we find the diction of Māgha in full conformity with the definitions of Mādhurya,[13] Ojaḥ and Prasāda given by Mammaṭa.

12. *"The three qualities"* (*tryo guṇāh*) may also have a reference to the three qualities of Sāṁkhya, viz., sattva, rajas and tamas. In that case *tamoguṇa* pertains to the exploits of Śiśupāla etc., rajoguṇa pertains to the water-sport and other such luxuries and sattvaguṇa pertains to the Kṛṣṇastuti, etc. It may be suggested here that an investigation as to whether Bhāmaha also had the numbers of the qualities of Sāṁkhya in his mind in fixing the number of qualities of kāvya at three is likely to yield some interesting results.[14]

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[13] For example there is Mādhurya in *Śiśupālavadha,* XI.2 ; Ojaḥ in *Śiśupālavadha,* vii, 4-6 and Prasāda althroughout the epic if we give allowance for the mannerisms.

[14] This article is a modified and condensed version of a Sanskrit paper published in PRĀCYA BHĀRATI, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1965).

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